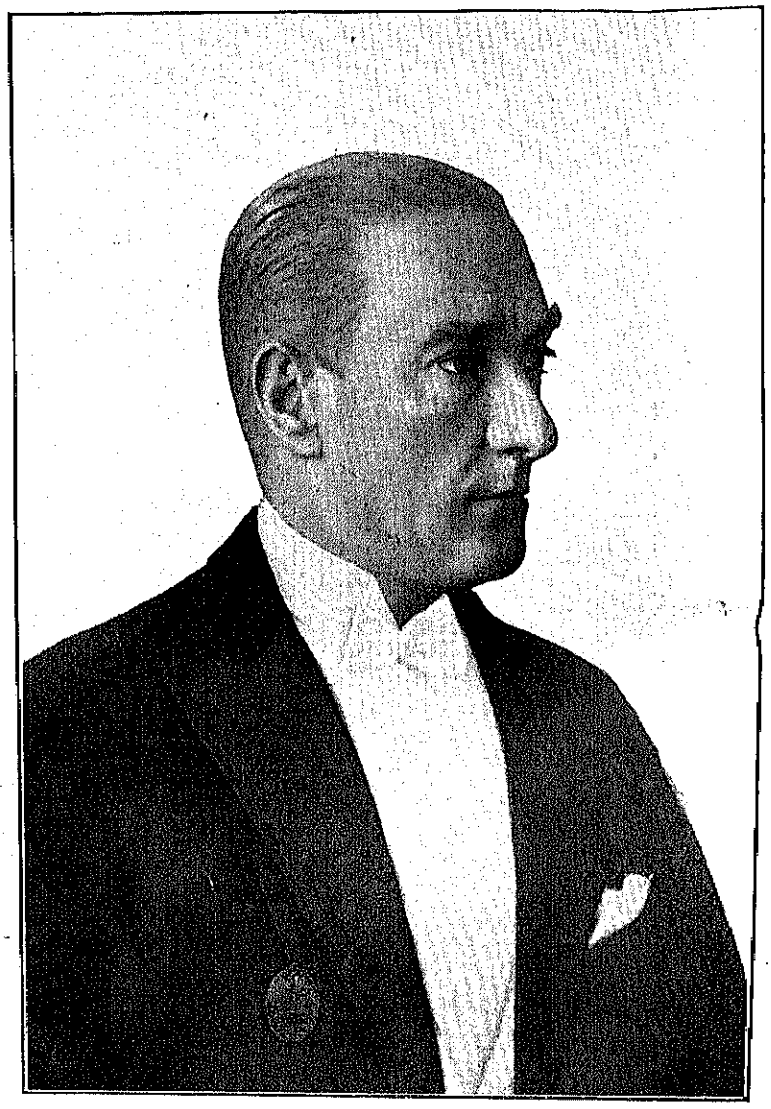

His Excellency GHAZI MUSTAFA KAMAL
President of the Turkish Republic

KAMAL:
MAKER OF MODERN TURKEY

BY

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LONDON: HERBERT JOSEPH
9 JOHN STREET ADELPHI

FOREWORD

OTHERS have also written about His Excellency Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha; but this narrative is from the pen of one who loves and reveres the greatest hero that my Turkish brethren have ever provided during their contemporary history.

Nor is it merely blind hero-worship which impels me to portray Kamal in terms of high distinction. Facts in this book will amply support my contention that he it was who galvanized his nation to life—a life of free sovereignty within the limits of his homeland.

His life story should not only be a shining example for the Turks, but must act as a worthy beacon to Asia.

I must record my deep gratitude to His Excellency Mohamed Munir Bey, and other friends in Ankra, who have helped me during the progress of this work.

ALFAQIR.
SYED IKBAL.

GENEVA.
April 28th, 1934.

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KAMAL: MAKER OF MODERN TURKEY

THE CHANGING FACE OF ASIA

The Diamond City of the East

If stone and mortar could speak they surely could tell a wondrous story of Stanboul, for in the New Rome, as Constantinople was originally described in most that no longer meets the eye, reposed the history of grandeur, the ripening of empires, and their ultimate decay.

Nor is Constantinople only a treasure-house of ancient chronicles. Its natural beauty defines the most pictorial delineators of all time, poems written to portray the scene of moonlit vistas of that bridal city of the Orient are but pale shades of reality; for I agree with Hormizedas, the Persian prince living a life of voluntary exile there now more than a thousand years ago, who said: "The one and the only disadvantage of the New Rome is that there one dies like anywhere else."

I consider that this is the right frame of mind in which one should arrive at Constantinople. This is so because of two factors. In its history one can soak years before journeying to the Near East, but that background had risen to life and colour, when my train wended its way for hours through alternate areas of stony desert and patches of emerald green cultivation beyond Adrianople and gave me now glimpses of the Old Walls. A little further on I beheld the silvery beams playing upon the smooth waters of Marmara, and distantly every now

and again slender minarets of famous mosques, like giant candles, hovered above the green mantles of sycamore trees. Even that brief picture of the beauty of Constantinople would have been enough to prove to me that the city was without equal.

My eyes fed upon the scene of Nature's best art, through which the pageants of hoary history passed and repassed as the train rattled and shrieked on its way to the railway station of Stanboul.

Fairy visions of Byzantine and Ottoman greatness danced before my reflective mind's eye: and so rudely melted away before the approach of another—that of our own somewhat colourless day.

I suppose trance has its limits and you must descend from the clouds of fancy, but I hardly expected such a thump into realities. Two men had already spotted my carriage; they had lowered the window of the compartment and, having handed me a metal disc with a number on it, were already shifting my luggage before I could realize the fact that the train had actually arrived at Stanboul station. What is more, the station was not unlike any other station. There was the same sort of bustle and hurry, the same kind of enormous suspended railway clocks, the same sort of porters; almost the replica of what you may see in Paris or London or the Waverley station. If you are like me, who, rather than read a thriller on a train journey, prefer to conjure up old battle scenes or the gay midnight reception of foreign embassies in your mind, you can appreciate my feelings on arrival at Stanboul. I was a man, so to speak, awakened from sleep.

People had, of course, told me that Turkey was a changed country, that the fanciful ideas of Arabian

Nights' Dreams, if they ever obtained, were as difficult to find in New Turkey as in Clapham. For all this metamorphosis I was prepared; not only to a limited degree, for Turkey to me was always the Turkey of the Sultan, the Khalifa, and Stanboul the city where resided the Leader of the Faithful. Need I observe that what I had heard in childhood regarding the magnificence of Constantinople's lord and his mighty Court, his all-pervading influence on behalf of the Children of Islam, had gone so deep into my heart that sentiment could never agree with my later studies regarding the actual distress under the Sultanic regimes. Nor could my mind believe aught than the most colourful scenes of everything connected with Stanboul.

It was this incessant battle that raged between the heart, the eye and riper experience and study which threw me into a state of real mental affliction as I sat in the spacious lounge of one of the best hotels in Constantinople.

After smoking many cigarettes of real Turkish make I went to lunch. Tables were arranged with taste, even with more lavish display of silver than in the best hotels of Berlin, London or Paris. Waiters, under-waiters, head waiters, *garçons*, managers and what not, dressed in the finest of dress clothes, went about their duties in the most accepted fashion of the European hotel management. The orchestra was not only large but very modern, to the extent of cabaret dancers, a daylight cabaret at that—which I hope were not Turkish; their costumes, if any, did certainly rival what you may see at a midnight revel in the danger-ridden quarters of Paris.

The head waiter, endeavouring to be helpful, whispered to me: "This is one of the new turns of Mlle. ——, the Dance of the Spring. Mlle. —— has insured her

limbs for £20,000," he added, and wished to give me more information about the leader of the troupe, when I asked him to give me some more of the luscious melon. He took the hint. Next I saw him "interesting" a Greek guest who looked pathetically lonely.

The greater part of my first afternoon in Stanboul was taken up by visits of various plain-clothes policemen, who inquired about the object of my visit to their ancient city and had me fill up many forms, requiring me to enter even the maiden name of my mother.

When all the formalities were performed and I was found to be a quite satisfactory person, not only to visit Constantinople, but to stay on as long as I liked and to roam wherever I wanted, only then did I learn the reason of this strict scrutiny into the affairs of travellers.

With apologies I was told that that treatment was to everybody, perhaps slightly more acute in regard to those who came from India or adjoining countries. Then I remembered, to my abiding shame as a Moslem, how one, Mustafa Sageer—a wretched native of Benares in India—had tried to shoot Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha at a time when nationalist Turkey was just raising its head; and in his confessions, which were given great prominence by the French newspapers, he implicated the late Lord Curzon in the plot. The Turks have not forgotten the incident, and for very good reasons.

Late in the afternoon it was that I climbed up the hill that frowns over the Golden Horn to have the first real glimpse of the stateliness of the old Turkish capital, and, almost without noticing, entered into what appeared a garden laid out in the French fashion. Small tables shadowed by large umbrellas were gracefully arranged on the lawn. Beyond the café rose somewhat hurriedly put

up buildings, and large placards, in lurid colours, of film scenes caught one's eye. Then a natural longing came upon me to see Istambul as an Oriental, son of Asia as I am.

Within half an hour I had donned a more unconventional garb, paid the bill and left the ultra-European hotel and its atmosphere and was trekking down to Galata Bridge, in order to sleep under a more Oriental though humbler roof.

And there I saw a spectacle. The dying sun had emptied its last load of gold over the waves of the Bosphorus. Every minute its dullness was increasing. Soft dusk was spreading now over the little boats, now enwrapping the greying side of a ship, mounting higher and higher to its masts, and in deepening waves it rose slowly and silently, now rendering dim even the domes and the minarets. Creeping onwards and upwards, at last much was lost to view. And anon out of this night's pall burst little pin-points of light; tiny beams flickered out of the ship's side; the darkly looming figures of distant mosques caught up the reflection of adjoining electric lights; all along the hill-side the fairest of lamps peeped through the gloom of the night, till a veritable fairyland reposed amidst the triune seas. The magic of the evening was complete.

"Perhaps you are not travelling by this boat?" very politely inquired a policeman, which was by way of drawing my attention to the fact that I was in the way of the hurrying passengers, who wished to catch the jetty steamboat to their suburban homes after office hours.

And, although I was not travelling by that boat before I stood at the bridge, the policeman's gentle reminder,

the sight of the swarming crowds, was a ready incentive to my ever-present desire for new experience. I cared not whither the boat went so long as I moved with it and saw new things; and I was on board.

Now this ferry-boat was unlike any other boat; in part it may not be dissimilar to those "luxury" things that give joy to the heart of many a Cockney as he goes excursioning under the bridges in the Thames on a Saturday afternoon. Small of size and plainly furnished, very much like an enormously long and roomy railway compartment, it provided wooden benches not entirely acceptable to those who journey to Brighton in well-appointed coaches. Its wooden seats, as the man next to me very aptly remarked, were made to sit on and not to sleep in, for the sufficient reason that the boat was a coastal vessel and people had to keep awake in order to alight at their proper station—a station being touched every five miles or so.

Another interesting fact—interesting if you are a good sailor—about the three seas of Constantinople is that you may be enraptured with the beauty of its shimmering waters, its play of light and shade under the blushing rays of the morning sun; but when you are in one of these ferry-boats the giant waves may develop and banish all serenity of the previous daylight hours.

I sat on the bench endeavouring to recollect whether the ticket which I held in my hand was the boat ticket or a cloak-room voucher. The boat began to prance like a horse not broken in; the soldier next to me held on to his pickle jar as if his life depended on it, but during a second lurch not only was I deposited on the floor, but on my lap descended vinegar and onions. The empty jar, with the paper covering its mouth ripped, was

still in the soldier's hand as he struggled to his feet, helped by the ticket collector. A sailor of the Ghazi sang old sea ditties loud and long. The more it lurched the more he sang; for the ferry greyhound was now disporting itself more like an unwieldly porpoise.

It was fortunate that they had closed the giant port-hole windows, or we would have had half of the Golden Horn in the boat. At last the gambolling slowed down; a short gangway was thrown, the guard shouting out the name of the station, and half a dozen men, a few children and women jumped to their feet and were soon swallowed up by the gloom of the shore. Within three minutes the boat was on its way again.

And an astonishing thing happened when I was prepared to face the next period of tossing about: some of my fellow-passengers, unravelling their brown-paper parcels, munched bread or cakes and biscuits, and drank deeply from their water-bottles. It appeared almost like a ceremony, as if someone had given a command to them to do so, or that it was some tradition, because even the so-called first-class passengers behaved similarly. It looked like everybody's supper-time.

In the first instance I thought that, as these people went to business every day by that sea route, they naturally had developed an immunity from *mal-de-mer*, since they devoured so happily; and yet, why this meal-time immediately after passing the first station? Gradually I noticed that the rolling and pitching which I expected was not perceptible. The boat was moving smoothly, no waves were leaping to the windows; actually it was a glorious night. Frankly, it was unbelievable to me that within ten or fifteen minutes such a change could come upon a sea.

Beyond the witchery of that mysterious city, this phenomenon of the arising of sudden squalls can be explained by the fact of the flowing and mingling of currents of three seas: the Black Sea, the Marmara and the bottle-neck Golden Horn, on which sits astride the town of Stanboul.

The waters lay calm like a furrowed slate of black marble; the sky was clear, a dark velvety canopy studded with stars, like lamps of gems, hung overhead. And far away the minaret city hummed like a distant beehive. At the next stop I too left the boat and took an omnibus back to my sleeping quarters in old Stanboul.

There are those that acclaim with delight that Turkey has divorced Islam, regarding which I will set down my observations later in this chapter; but, even supposing Islam has been divorced, one thing is certain: it cannot be banished from the country of those whose fathers for centuries have bled for the Faith of the Prophet Mohamed. Also, we must really endeavour to understand what exactly it is that nationalist Turkey has dismantled when it removed the Sultans from Constantinople. The real meaning of that step of the Ghazi shall be revealed a little later, and, although these remarks may appear out of place here, yet let me hasten to explain that this side-light springs to my mind when I am about to speak of the first sound which struck upon my ears on rising from bed in Constantinople.

It was a shrill, snappy call, unmistakably of a vendor, It grew in coherence and volume: "Allaho—Kareem. Allaho—Ghani!" (Allah is the Greatest Giver, Allah is the Richest of the Rich), it rose and echoed in the narrow lanes. I looked out of the latticed and overhanging window. The man carried a large tray of some steaming-

hot buns and cakes and sweets. This one-time Albanian Halvagis, as these highland confections are called, soon gathered a crowd; boys, girls, even old men and housewives, were around him eagerly buying their breakfast dainties.

Still sticking to Western conventions of not emerging from my bedroom in pyjamas—although there were many around the sweet-seller less clothed than myself—I shouted to the Halvagis to serve me. "Allaho—Kareem!" he shouted, and immediately his "shop" was below my balcony. The commodities in his tray consisted of Simits—cakes resembling nougat, prepared with walnut and sesame seeds—and Halva.

Wrapping the money in my handkerchief, I threw it down to him. He tied the purchases in the same cloth and threw it back to me. I wondered if such a precise thrower could not acquit himself admirably at an English Test Match, for he was transacting business in a similar manner with half a dozen other sleepy customers in the various balconies around me. "Allaho—Kareem!" he called and passed on to other people down the lane.

Glory of St. Sophia

You may or may not believe, with Gibbon, that the edifices of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasure of his people; one thing is undeniable, that he had an indelible mark upon the world's religious architecture by building St. Sophia. It is more than an edifice; in it one feels a spiritual warmth unparalleled in my experience, barring, of course, when I prayed before Allah's shrine in holy Mecca. A visit to St. Sophia should form the first and the last item in every traveller's itinerary in Stanboul.

When you approach it from afar the near view is not altogether pleasing, and, although I would not go to the extent of likening it to a gigantic inverted blanc-mange surrounded by enormous candlesticks as minarets, there is some truth in the criticism that the architect did rather stress the massiveness of the structure; notably the buttresses lending strength to the dome have detracted from that sheer grace which belongs to its interior.

It is easy to go into ecstasies over the pure delicacy and finish of what strikes the eye on stepping into the mosque. Unlike the time of Justinian, you do not meet in its vestibule a batch of penitents excommunicated for various offences, but an aged Mullah bearing a pair of covers for your shoes. My guide, Zaheer, was surprised when I discarded my shoes and, rather more meekly than he expected, saw me enter the house of prayer.

The floor was carpeted with gorgeous carpets. Beyond a few worshippers who bent low the mosque was empty. In magnitude one should not forget that the nave is a little over 110 feet wide, some 200 feet long and nearly 180 feet to the apex of its dome; but look up and observe, even if you are not an expert architect, how marvellous the difficulty of throwing a round dome, somewhat flattened at that, over a square building is got over. Note well, too, the real skill of steadying this colossal dome on as few supporting piers as four, which, so far as I know, has no equal in religious architecture, although Lord Byron pronounced it to be "no patch on St. Paul's." It may be that the great English poet was visiting the mosque after having received a cold reply regarding his ordinary place at the Sultan's levee as one of the many members of the British Colony in Turkey, and not as a distinguished peer of the realm.

Be as it may, the original decorations, consisting of mosaics and columns, still remain as a worthy monument, and although now used as a place of Moslem worship it is interesting to note that many places of far and near have contributed to its decorating scheme. The eight great serpentine columns are from the Temple of the Sun at Baalbek, and were brought after the great Lady Zenobia of desert fame had been crushed by Aarelius. If others could speak, they would whisper their origin to be from the Temple of Apollo, and other sixty odd, of jasper and granite, had seen different climes.

But for a fuller background of this wondrous shrine of Byzantine imperialism and idolatry we must have a peep into the pages of its first chapters. In Justinian's day the service of the cathedral required the assistance of no less than a thousand people. A choir of 100 women, 200 boys and 100 singing eunuchs did duty every day; 300 musicians in flowing crimson robes filled the air with the grace of their mandolines, zithers and cymbals and other instruments. No less than 800 priests and ten bishops were present daily at prayer. Beside this passionate display of religious feeling, the church was a veritable treasure house; curtains of silk woven with 500,000 pearls, thousands of gold and silver lamps hung from the vault, and gold plate which took 100 men to carry in procession, were but a few of the articles that enriched this ancient temple. No small wonder that £10,000,000 were spent on the building of the structure alone.

Turn a little from this picture to another. It is precisely 629 years ago to-day as I write, and a fine spring morning of Easter, that the Latin Crusaders, flushed with victory and wine, were in the midst of a noisy revel in

St. Sophia. The Patriarch's throne was occupied by a stark-naked soldier full of wine. Mockingly he conducted a service in unseemly words. Filth and blood were being mixed in order to administer sacrament, pack animals were being trooped in laden with the loot. All sacredness had been dragged to the dust. And say what you like regarding Mahmed, the conqueror of Constantinople, he paused in the porch in respect and reprimanded a janissary who was breaking down a marble step.

"It's God's house," added the Conqueror. "Respect it as such and let us pray," he commanded.

So it has been to the day when I stood under the fading light of that mighty dome of St. Sohpia.

Neither Mahmed the conqueror of Stanboul, nor, I feel sure, does any Turk feel the pride of mere conquest in the ownership of St. Sophia. A certain attachment born of religious reverence it has upon the minds of average Moslems; for instance, myriads of legends have now grown round this noble structure. The aged keeper of the mosque told me that he regarded it as holy because its southern door was carved out from no less an ancient wood than from Noah's Ark. He took me to the western side of the gallery and pointed to a slab of marble, asking me what I saw peculiar in it. I saw nothing.

"Do you not see the glow, the radiance?" He spoke with a gleeful exhilaration. "Till that remain, 'Turk is always Turk, and great!" And later he invited me to examine the degree of virtue by putting my finger in a hole in a stone. Fortunately my finger emerged therefrom fairly cold, and the Mullah congratulated me upon my extraordinary piety and strong character. I hope his reading is true.

Standing right in the centre of the building, you cannot but notice the two enormous candles beside the niche where the Imam leads the prayer, a gift from the Sultan Sulieman. Look up and see the stately chandelier given by Sultan Ahmed, the marble pulpit from Murad, and last, but not least, the Sultan's loge, the creation of Aboul Majid.

A little to the left you observe a screened portion of the balcony for the royal ladies. Although quite contrary to the spirit of public worship, it is a creation rather of political embarrassment of certain unfortunate sultans more than anything else. And, although Islam does not permit such segregation, I cannot help recollecting that, if one were to picture a Byzantine family entering this church during Justinian's time, the women would only be allowed to go by a less honourable entrance up the balcony, and not by the principal door into the large body of the church, for we have the testimony of no less a chronicler than Chrysostom that "galleries chatter and laugh all through my sermons," and that they "egg on the men to heckle me on logical points unsuitable for public discussions."

To have a last longing look as I lifted my eyes, my gaze lingered at the escutcheons around the pillars. My guide was in a hurry. There are the names of the various Moslem deities inscribed on them, he enlightened me; actually they were Arabic inscriptions of the names of Allah, Mohamed and the four companions of the Prophet. Zaheer, the guide, unfortunately, from my headgear and general appearance, never dreamt of my being a Moslem. To his further remarks about the misdeeds of the Moslems in various parts of the world I made no remark, till he impressed upon me the necessity of leaving the St.

Sophia alone, for "it is haunted since the Turks have g it," he insisted. So he had heard since he was born ne Lake Van. But when, tying my handkerchief to m head, I stood to prayer, Zaheer could have expired. H profuse apologies only strengthened my resolve to war the authorities regarding the utter uselessness, and eve the danger, of allowing such men to act as guides, fe the question of religion apart, in the ears of an unsophis cated traveller such men could pour any venom th liked. The upshot of that day's roaming was that dusk my guide left me, when I joined the faithful in t prayer of the evening in that indescribable shrine whe Allah's name resounded and echoed through lof galleries; and then we sat folding our knees in mu prayer—a prayer not heard by mortal ears and y rising silently to the Maker of Mohamed and Justini alike.

The City of the Mosques

Like the Byzantine emperors, the Osmanli sultans t expressed their religious craving by building places worship, for, without exaggeration, there are 500 mosq in Constantinople. My imagination was stirred by th which is associated with the name of Mohamed t Conqueror of Stanboul. Semi-Italian in style, it w built 462 years ago. Its black and white arabesque, i great dome—the highest in the city—its gaunt appearanc is not delicate, but simple, almost austere, and so sym bolical of the age of unbending spirit of early Mosle conquest. Its courts, shaded by trees and booths, packe as they are with a microcosm of the East, very conside ably relieve its severity of appearance. There are co sherbet vendors, fruit sellers, pastry and bun shop barbers' booths, even fortune tellers, plying their tra

to a thousand sons of Asia in their multiferous style of dress; the Uzbeks of Bokhara, the Persian pilgrims from Ispahan, the Javanese tea-sellers, are all still cameos of the ancient East, bargaining, sipping coffee, washing their clothes or having their heads shaved or their beards trimmed; for who knows whether to-morrow the sun rises or not, or that the earthquake may not shake the foundations of this mosque built by Christodoutos, the Greek, for the mighty sultan who conquered Stanboul for Islam?

"Try this Yarghut!" recommended Agha Hassan, who sat next to me on a low rush mat stool under the cool shade of the mulberry tree in the outer courtyard of the mosque. The confectionery was delicious, not like those glorious sweets of almond and which they make with rose-water in Damascus. It was better than those. I too bought half a dozen for the old Hassan, for you must respond to such courtesies; and, after all, the Agha was once colonel of the guards in gay Constantinople.

Incidentally he asked me what I had paid for the cakes. The price was a little more than he had paid. The old Turk's blood was up. He thundered at the sweet-seller's booth till I was afraid that the veteran would upset the trays in the shop and precipitate a riot. The shopkeeper vainly tried to explain that the sweets he sold to me were of a better kind and much fresher than those sold to the Colonel two hours ago. But the Agha was not pleased; he considered that he was personally responsible for my being overcharged, and had the man hand me back the equivalent of threepence of the overcharge.

"Do you know why that Greek dog gave the money

back?" asked the Agha in triumphant tone. "Becau there is such a thing in our country now as justice—ay the justice of the Ghazi! May Allah preserve him! And his eyes beamed in mute praise of the idol of mode Turkey. "And here too," he added, "is the rig place to tell you of real justice. See you up yonder t minaret of this Conqueror's mosque, a symbol?" could not. "Ah, well, perhaps you don't see it. My o eyes are yet keener. It is like this. . . ."

Here he related to me the most popular legend abo the mosque. The Sultan, finding that Christodoulo the Greek architect, had purposely dwarfed the colum of the mosque so that it might not rival the one-ti Christian church of St. Sophia, had the Greek's ar amputated.

The Greek sought justice before the Kadi, wh summoned and condemned the Sultan. Justice w given even against the most mighty of all the sulta When the case was decided and the matter was clos by the Padshah having to pay 50,000 gold mohars recompense the Greek's loss, the Kadi rose from t bench and in his private capacity did homage to t Great Sultan. Whilst in the act of kissing the ro robe a dagger fell out from the divine's sleeve, and up being questioned regarding the reason of its concealme the Kadi explained that it was in case the weapon h to be used if the Sultan shrank from justice. Th Padshah, too, had a scimitar up his sleeve to slay th judge if his rank as a king prevented the Kadi fro giving judgment against him.

The lovable Colonel was one of those simple a gallant Turks who, possessing a single-track mind, st retain much of the real glory of the Ottoman race, a

had not been spoilt by the intrigue and atrocities that characterized the career of later sultans.

The reason of his parallelism of the great sense of justice between the grandsires of Sulieman the Magnificent and the modern leader of Angora, Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha, was not lost upon me; for this was only one instance to show me how the entire Turkish race loves and reveres the man who won and preserves their national entity. For the rest, of course, the Agha Hassan's story was nothing better than a legend, because the great Conqueror, in place of maltreating the Greek, gave him a handsome reward with a grant of the Church of the Virgin of Monkliotirsa and a large estate, so that Christodoutos lived in luxury to his last day.

But, although you may have had enough of the mosque atmosphere after a couple of hours' lingering at its various precincts, the Conqueror's instinct stretches yet much further, for his turbeh or mausoleum lies quite close to the mosque. In his lonely glory Mahmed lies alone in his ten-sided domed building of spotless marble. As you look through the mother-of-pearl railing surrounding the catafalque, the story of his conquest becomes alive before a student of the earliest glories of the sultans, who were not only mighty but just. In a corner on the stand reposes a copy of the Koran calligraphed by his own royal hand. The keeper of the shrine points to an inlaid box, alleging that it contains the sacred tooth of the Prophet Mohamed; that, of course, is a mere pious hope, for no authentic record of ocular evidence of such a relic being there is ever provided.

And romance, too, haunts the precincts here, for Gulbrahar Sultana, the queen of the Conqueror, lies buried alongside the grave of another unknown person.

Search all historical records high and low for the nan of the occupant of this grave, ask the scholars of nations, none can tell you aught of the nameless on Why should there be a grave of an unknown woman ?- for women of the closest association with the Conquer were to be interned in the courtyard beside the Sultan wife, till the mystery of it mingles with imagination an in drinking the romance of the past like a glass of mem absinthe, you abandon critical history and see the visi of the beautiful Greek Irene arise from the cold ear before you.

The leader of the Faithful, the mighty conquer Mohamed, sits surrounded by the Holy Hodjas; th clergy have severely criticized the Sultan for having woman in his harem who still refused to accept the fa of Allah. And what forsooth if she was as voluptuo as the dawn of the desert itself? Was she a fit associ for the glory of one who marched with the banner the Prophet, the mighty conqueror who shattered t power of Byzantium till it fell at the feet of the faithf crumpled to dust? So moved the bearded lip of t Sheikh of Sheikhs. The Sultan was cut to the qui Their exhortations were correct, but he loved the infid woman, in whose face beauty abode as the scent with the rose.

Let the legend take on more colour and be helped wi imaginative picture-making! We see the Gazelle Greece led before the leader of the Faithful. He to one longing look at the sacrificial virgin and then spoke:

"I love thee, O woman, more than anything Allah's domain—aye, even more than mine life." H gasped for strength. "And as I shall give my life un

Islam . . ." Thereupon his scimitar fell, so says the Greek necromancer, upon the bewitching woman. The clergy realized the tragedy, but too late. The best that they could do was to bury her in the most honourable place as a Moslem queen.

Be that as it may, we are still in the enchanting realm of feminine atmosphere when we light another Turbah. Though not so ancient, yet behold in it the last resting place of the mother of that wise Sultan who undertook the reforms fully a century before Abdul Hamid. Picture before you a scene of torture, if you can, in a slave market in Algiers, and Aimée, a thing of ravishing beauty, exposed for sale to the highest bidder. She knows little of the wicked world, for she was shipwrecked as she was returning from her convent school at Nantes. After the shipwreck was the slave market.

Her cousin, Joséphine de la Pagerie, has escaped the guillotine and become Empress Joséphine. Aimée de Revery is now in the slave market; the Dey buys her, and she become the Sultan's best-loved wife, the mother of a Turkish ruler who has the courage to rise with scimitar in hand to wipe out the curse of the awful regime of the harem and viziers, eunuchs and janissaries. Yes, indeed, the ways of Allah are mysterious, for who could have said that two such storm-tossed lives could have been the empresses of the East and the West?

The mosque of Selim the Just, in the Phanar, is not a worthy monument as a piece of architecture, but it none the less brings the pageant of early sultans' justice very conspicuously to one's memory. Can you imagine a whole Cabinet of the King condemned to death for bad government? Can you imagine, too, Kadi after Kadi allowed to sit in judgment upon his own injustice and

condemn himself to capital punishment? And the r
result of it we have in his own administration being o
of the most efficient in the entire history of Turkey.
he was cruel, he is to be accused of cruelty as much
should be a surgeon upon amputating a gangrenous lim

If Selim's mosque has only an insignificant forecou
and the minarets rise in mysterious aloofness, it is sy
bolical of the man's mind, for he amongst all the sult
knew how to keep his own secrets.

"Where next should an expedition go?" they ask
the Caliph in order to get the secret of his heart.

"To another world!" spoke the Leader of t
Faithful, without disclosing his plans even upon h
death-bed.

From Selim descend or ascend, according to yo
prejudice in history, to the reign of Suleiman the M
nificent. Standing in the cool breezes of the courty
of a mosque where Suleiman's mighty feet must h
trodden, I was moved by the scene: the stately minar
the glory of the variegated tiles age could
tarnish. But it is forlorn and deserted, peopled only
the hyena and the jackal, for its fair outer court is noth
but a mass of graves; stunted tree trunks inter
thorny bushes, giving a melancholy testimony that e
the most magnificent of Padshahs can leave but l
more than a name behind them: for what does n
remain of a tall, thin man with complexion like smok
ruby, flashing, radiant eyes, and wearing a diadem
seven kingdoms in his turban, that was Suleiman
great general, the greatest Sultan and scholar, excep
be the distressing memory of Roxalana, his Russ
slave girl, raised to the wondrous position of Que
Regent?

The time of Suleiman was an age of great personages. There was Akbar, the Lord of the Moghuls, on the throne of Delhi; Pope Leo X, Henry VIII and Francis I were amongst his rivals of the age. But the Sultan Magnificent will be remembered more on account of his enchantress, with a profile that would cut like a sharp blade, two scented braids of long red hair reaching down to her waist, on her head a high crown of sparkling jewels over a silk cap. That was Roxalana, the Russian slave girl, who lived to be not only the wife of the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century, but a scheming woman to boot.

A legend has it that he so remarkably well controlled the government of his household that even the gifted Roxalana was powerless against the skill of the Sultan, but I fancy that it would not be entirely on account of this domestic management that he became famous amongst the law-givers of his time. There must have been much more than that in it, or else even England would not have sent a commission to Turkey at that period to copy the Sultan's laws and recast the British law accordingly.

Still another picture of Suleiman's career leaps to your memory as you endeavour to read the epithets on the graves of this mosque. It is the day when the great Sultan meets his death on the battle-field. The Hungarian city of Szaged he had sworn to reduce; it had defied his might over and over again. Wave upon wave of Osmanli troops surge over the parapet; oil and stones from catapults and arrows are showered on them. "In the name of Allah!" the war cry ascended to the skies, for the Leader of the Faithful had so willed.

At last the city falls; but Suleiman has breathed his

last. For two days his lifeless corpse, with staring e and rouged cheeks, had sat in his tent, propped on t divan, says the historian. No break is permitted in t ordinary prosecution of the field operations; reports submitted to the dead Caliph, meals served as usual his royal tent by trusted servants, commands issued if nothing had happened. Upon the reduction of city the monarch's camp is struck; the deceased Sul sitting up in regal style in his state coach, passes thro his cheering army towards Constantinople, and but f are wise of the real fact till he is buried with pomp a show befitting his illustrious name.

With the death of Suleiman passes a glorious age the Osmanli Empire; at least for a period, because chief fault—if fault it be—was not to make ano Suleiman the Magnificent, Suleiman the Just a Suleiman the Law-giver of his successor; so that more than 200 years his country groaned under the ten of harem law, corrupt viziers, eunuchs and janissa thus emphasizing the hoary adage that an exte empire, like expanded gold, exchanges solid stre for feeble splendour; for lo, the throne of the C Servant of the Prophet had passed to Selim the Sot, du whose time the common saying was: "Who will st us a drink to-day, the priest, the judge or the Caliph

And what an array of dreadful monarchs we h now before us! Of about twenty, nearly ten came t sudden death, four murdered, and five deposed and t "put away"; and now the imprisoning of the heir the throne in old Seraglio became an established prac

The Mystery of Seraglio

It was from a row-barge that I first saw this mys

ous residence of ancient sultans. When the sun is striking straight at it in its morning glow this old Sarai rises before the eye as a dreaming vision. Its gaunt walls, whitish edifices, distant needle-sharp minarets, invest it with a curious golden nimbus in which a thousand changing hues are blending. Around this finger of the land is spread the phantom city from which, like the sigh of an awakened sleeper, floats up to you a soft warm wind. Slowly the slumbering town awakes; the sound of a million murmuring tongues are thrown upon the waves as the sunlight is penetrating the hidden groves of this forbidden land of the Sultan's ladies; the sea is still warming, and its water, clear as a pale turquoise, hurries along its course under the row-boat. The scene blunts the faculties of the most acute critics of its traditional tragedy; for here he sees something unreal, something ravishing, a nymph in a languorous sleep. No wonder that in 1634 a Lothario of Venice was hanged for gloating over the beauty of its denizens through a telescope.

Later in the day I climbed to it from its land approach in the city, and it is surprising that even in its blunt and glaring realm of tragic history the Sarai is bewitching. In its beginning the residence could not but have conformed to the Central Asian camping grounds of the great khans, for only with gradual development of the Ottoman power this Forbidden City was detached and fortified from the city till Suleiman installed the seat of government in it.

It is, of course, situated on an elevation, and before ever you could reach its outer gate the influence of Bab Allay, or the Sublime Porte, should be noted. Unmindful of any official residence as you progress up

the hill on excellent road, a walled garden round
bend is reached. A large gate gives access to it. T
gate is built over and blocked; the imperial crest of
Sultan is sadly decaying upon it, and the paint over
yellowish walls of the gigantic villa behind the w
would be better for another coat. So it is that marvell
Sublime Porte, of which the mightiest chancelleries
Europe spoke in awe, knew nothing of the intrig
of viziers and Court hangers-on.

In the old Seraglio gardens you now step through
Iron Gate, and the Arabian Nights' Dreams receiv
decided setback. There are no veiled ladies, no ma
guards, not even a fez to add glamour to the anci
recollection. All is modern in the gardens: ne
arranged seats, beautiful flower-beds, trim gravel pa
and the public of Constantinople enjoying the freshn
of the atmosphere with freedom that would break
hearts of those who, in other parts of Asia, would b
white economically all their adherents rather than al
them the enjoyment of human birthright. As I saw so
of Turkish men and women pace in this public gar
I was moved by the transmutation wrought by t
Ghazi hero. Under the tall sycamore trees women w
picnicking, children with radiant faces played as o
sons of a free country can play, for their young pare
under the magic touch of the great Khan of Ang
had the heritage of their national greatness.

Walking on to the end of the park you come to
edge of the sea. Seraglio towers overhead: in
shadow stands a statue of the Ghazi, intent, wit
determined foot forward, looking on to the shores
Asia; and even in his "presence" and one's recollect
of living history it was very curious that the Gha

personality remained remote as a legend, for one remembers the time when Turkey was going to be "wiped out," and then the miraculous political resurrection of the Turks under Mustafa Kamal made it come back to its own. These two phases are extremely difficult to grasp even twenty years after the outbreak of the Great War. It is this conflict of events that makes the personality all the more legendary.

As you stand at the base of the statue, craning your neck to have a last good look at it, the pageant of hoary Turkey rises before you; for the Ghazi stands watching the crimson haze that rises over the Asian coast afar off, his eyes fixed on the distant land where the morning sun is born, and whence sprang his grandsire that rode with Mahmed the Conqueror for the glory of Islam. This thing of metal to all but bigoted hearts gives an inspiration; the Ghazi before one's mind's eye becomes vivid, alive, full of that era when people wrote battle songs about the proud heron crests of the Turkish race.

Then I climbed up the hill. On the left is the Archæological Museum. It is a veritable graveyard of culture, for the place is full of sarcophagi of Byzantine history in addition to the relics of the classical period. The one that interested me most was the alleged sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. Its date is 300 B.C., and round the coffin you see Alexander depicted in various scenes. On one side the Macedonians and Persians are battling, and Alexander is in the thick of the fighting; and on the other the great hero is depicted in a hunting-field rescuing a soldier from an attacking lioness. The lid too is a masterpiece of carving, with rams' heads and human effigies. And to those who may have any doubts regarding the scientific efficiency of the Turks I would introduce

this museum, which is as correctly laid out as in a European country.

And now climb up a little to that area of the Forbid City, the Seraglio, where history has flowed less seren Passing the old mint-house, behold the ancient ch of St. Irene; or at least it was a church till they fo it useful for a museum of sorts. Here you may see Conqueror's sword, the keys of many cities that yie to the Turkish arms, an armlet of Tamerlane, an enormous number of old and new fashions of m locks, breech-loading guns, pistols, ancient tr mortars, and a goodly representation of Turkish arm notably that which was worn by the invincible janissa

On the next floor a whole army of medieval costu and headdresses of the Turkish sultans and C officers, from the high priest, the Sheikh of Sheikh the uniforms of eunuchs, are arranged on waxen fig As a curious commentary on ancient times, I was gr interested in seeing a number of Turkish soldiers eng in a football game in front of this museum. Har was the tree on which the heads of many a chief o janissaries were known to have been suspended.

At last you come to the entrance of the Sera In the distance its appearance is disappointing. narrow archway with two short minarets at each crowned by a sort of conical headgear as conventi to the witches, decorate—or shall I say horrify?— architectural design. Judging from the sordid at sphere that must have prevailed in the regions be the entrance, this ought to warn the visitor to surre all hopes at the gateway.

Here you should appreciate the fact that there really two influences at work during the regime o

tyrant Sultan. The one outside the Seraglio, naturally enough, composed of the Ottoman men and women of various shades of character, some scheming, others expert in servile corruption, and a few apparently honest, who did not live long enough to be remembered. The other influence consisted of—if the Sultan could be counted out—practically entirely exotic elements: the black and white eunuchs, the veiled ladies of Samarkand to Tiflis, Azarbuijan or Konia. And there were some of the tribute children too, intended for the service of the State.

I entered this conical-capped tower gate of Peace, and even in those years of grace and tranquillity my heart sank in holy terror over the recollection of what it had been. There were rows upon rows of sycamore trees, the plan of the garden beautifully executed, the path trim and neat, and the vista that opened out before the eye was most pleasing. But history haunts me. The Sarai, this inner seraglio—the Celestial Abode as it was termed—is of course not inhabited now; but let us reconstruct its scene, say, during Selim's time.

On the left stands what still remains of those chambers of horror and torture where many a vizier called to Allah to release him from the bondage of life. To counterbalance the effect, on the opposite side is a noble pavilion where foreign ambassadors had to learn the great art of waiting till summoned before the imperial presence.

Come with me a little further towards the pavilion. The year is 1566. Look, three great ambassadors of France, England and Venice, with their various secretaries, are reposing in the great hall of the pavilion. They have been there since early dawn; now it is noon,

and the Commander of the Faithful shall grant audienc
when it is convenient to him at the sign of the lucky st
in mid-heaven.

Suddenly the Seraglio awakes with a loud call: "Th
Asylum of the Universe decrees the hour of food with
the Celestial walls!" The ambassadors are now bei
conducted to the chamber of the Grand Vizier. Gre
plates, green water tumblers, jade green coffee cups
used at the feast where the white-bearded Vizier s
entertaining the foreign representatives—not only th
green is the accepted Moslem colour, but also the antid
against poisoning which enters into the composition
these receptacles renders them green in colour. Af
the feast the French Ambassador receives twenty-fo
robes of honour, the English sixteen, and the Veneti
twelve, and now they are being hurried to the royal h
through the Gate of Felicity to the audience of the Sult

Preceded by a long-robed Capitzi, they now appro
the privy apartments. We see them stand in the an
chamber five paces apart from each other. All is sile
except the little birds of variegated plumage wh
transport amongst the tree branches. One by one t
ambassadors follow the Capitzi with gaze direc
downwards. "In the presence of the Commander
the Faithful," he calls in a sonorous voice, "look do
and approach with reverence and awe! In revere
and awe!" he shouts on, "in reverence and awe!"
till the Chief Capitzi arranges them in the order of th
diplomatic precedence before the mighty presence,
whilst doing so deftly feels their wrists lest perch
they may have a weapon up their sleeves.

On a divan covered by gorgeous silk carpets sits
Sultan, dressed in robes of gold cloth, his turban dazz

with jewels of rare splendour. We now see the Grand Vizier advance towards the ambassadors and, taking the hem of the royal robe, first kisses it himself, and then beckons the ambassadors to kiss it likewise, one by one, strictly in the order of their precedence; the French first, next the English, and lastly the Venetian, go to do the homage, the Sultan vouchsafing not even a single look to those who kissed his throne. Now we see them bow low; not a word is spoken, but in the awful majesty of the occasion you see the three letters from the kings of various ambassadors placed before the Sultan. His royal hand now sprinkles some scent over these unopened letters "in token of his gracious acceptance of their contents." Then the Light of the Faith whispers rather than speaks that, regarding the replies to these letters, the ambassadors are to confer with his imperial Ministers. The sonorous voice of the Chamberlain now arises: "In the presence of the Lord of Seven Kingdoms bend in awe and reverence." It reminds them of their duty. Bending low, they retire, pacing backwards towards the door, never turning their backs to the Sultan.

Let us see these ambassadors off before going to explore further into the mysteries of the Forbidden City. We see the three diplomats appear at the outer gate laden with presents. A whole cavalry regiment stands at the salute, banners are unfurled, bands play, and stalwart janissaries too, with their captains full in their train; and the whole cavalcade goes the round of the city, thereby assuring that everybody be made aware of the honour bestowed by the Padshah upon the ambassadors this day.

ANOTHER day you may visit the Seraglio with me a conjure up old scenes; you may imagine yours standing in the Throne Room. Now this Takht Badshah, or a four-post bedlike structure of abo 8 feet square, could remind you of a similar forlo thing of wondrous beauty, carved from one piece faultless marble, which looks sadly on to the banks the Indian Jumna River. In beholding this Turk throne too one's heart bleeds with the recollection the great days of the hoary East, till you have anot look at it and find consolation in the fact that real ge of great value still lie studded around its sides.

And there is a further difference between this thro and others like it, inasmuch as few, if any, sultans actu sat on it and presided over their "Cabinet meetings," it were. The Padshahs were too mighty for that, so t the throne remained a mere emblem of the Empe around which the nine ministers of the realm, under t presidency of the Grand Vizier, assembled every Thurs to transact important State business. You look up a notice a balcony running all along the southern wall the room. There is only one window, a curtain drawn across it; and here it was the Padshah Sultan listening to the deliberations of his ministers. As of as not, of course, he was not present, but just t illusion and fear of his possible presence there kept

viziers' discussions strictly within the limits of their sovereign's all-powerful will.

Reconstructing the scenes of the past, I can do no better than take you to that hall one fine summer's day in A.D. 1797. The whole brigade of the Sultan's personal bodyguard is lined up outside the Seraglio. Inside, all along the cyprus-skirted path, stand stalwart guards of honour, the morning sun striking upon their bared scimitars. One by one the nine viziers arrive and take their places in the hall, and, with banners flying, bands playing, the retinue of the Prime Minister leads him to the Throne Room. Having kissed the hand of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier now takes his place just below the curtained window of the Turkish Emperor. A little fountain near the door is now allowed to play, another one with a gold tap is unscrewed to allow the water to drip, because the Secret Council is now in session and the noise made by the dripping and leaping water will drown the whisper in which the viziers are now talking. The entire Seraglio has taken a vow of silence for half an hour; nothing moves, nothing speaks, at every yard stands a guard with a naked sword, whilst the Secret Council is in progress.

Meantime the Christian knights have arrived at the gate of the Seraglio, where, having been received with honours, they await the termination of the Council of the Viziers.

Presently you espy a couple of State dignitaries carrying a golden casket on a tray. Armed soldiers walk in their wake. Evidently they are carrying something of value from the Treasury, near the personal kiosk of the Sultan, to the hall; possibly a present from the Asylum of the Universe himself. Slowly this small procession enters

the hall where the viziers are in council. The tray
laid on a high table. The Grand Vizier claps his hand
the silence period is over. The council has decid
what the Sultan had decided months ago. The Co
calligraphist has finished writing the Imperial Firm
and now holds it above his head as the representati
of the Knights of Malta and the Knights of Tsar P
are admitted to the hall.

The Grand Vizier climbs one of the five steps of
throne, reads the Imperial Firman to the knights,
which his August Master, upon whom rests the shad
of Allah, considers it his gracious pleasure to bestow
religious relic on those to whom it is an object of co
siderable sacredness. As a mark of his friendliness to t
Christians, who, "although unfortunate in not bei
Moslems," were yet the people of the Book and theref
entitled to great consideration, for the Commander
the Faithful is aware of the great place of Jesus, as spok
of in the Koran.

This recitation over, the Firman is borne should
high to the mysterious balcony. The Sultan is prese
and this time, behind the curtain, his Imperial Tagh
is impressed on the Firman. The Grand Vizier, af
kissing the parchment roll, says: "Advance oh tho
the gallant commanders of the knights, and, as
honoured guests of the Commander of the Faithf
receive the honourable Firman and the relic of t
religion with the reverence that it deserves."

The knights have bent low before the table. Wi
Firman in their hands they kneel before the Gold
Casket and see "a mummified hand that baptized Je
the Lamb of God." Historians aver that this w
discovered in the Turkish Treasury, possibly as a lega

of the Byzantine Empire, and was preserved at the Monastery of St. John Promdronous, while the casket was the one which Anna Comnena had made for it.

The Secret of the Dancing Dervishes

It was on a Thursday night that I was promised a peep into another mystery of Turkey. I mean the secret gathering of the Dervishes, whose orders are suppressed by the laws of the Turkish Republic. As to where such meetings are still held near Istamboul, in defiance of the law of the State, it is not my intention to reveal; but if these occult societies are to be suppressed effectively the new regime in Turkey needs to grow half a century older, because the roots of these mystic societies are embedded in the hoary traditions of the Osmanli race. Nor by this observation do I condone the existence of movements which had frequently detached themselves from spiritual pursuits. Their adherents had materially assisted the janissaries in the eighteenth century, and even the energetic Kurdists' revolt against the Ghazi's Government only a few years ago was intimately associated with the orders.

Full moon had already arisen over the heights adjoining the Golden Horn when I was led to the secret shrine in Istamboul where the ceremony of the Dervish dance was to take place. In and out of the graveyards we wended our way to the silent shore of the sea. Moonshine and shadow slept on the ground beneath the tall sycamore trees; only the carved turboosh over the grave of some forgotten grandee of the Sultan's Court told us that the Takkeh, or the secret meeting house of the Dervishes, was not far off.

In an antechamber I met the Sheikh, or the leader of

the order. A tall man of refined features, who co
speak Persian with a decided Shirazi accent, received
kindly and, as a student of world affairs, and especi
as a seeker after truth, I compared notes with h
finding his ideas coincide with what I had read regard
Sufism.

I found that there was a definite "programme
work" on the path of which the disciple was led by
to the highest attainments of Sufi thought.

There were four stages through which the ini
must pass on his way to perfection and reunion with
Divine Essence; four veils that had to be lifted
his vision was purged from the grimness of the e
sphere and he was granted the final wonder and h
of coming face to face with Truth Eternal.

The first of these stages is known as HASUT, or
manity; the essential of proper observance in this p
and the mere approach or avenue to the temp
Sufism, is the faithful observance of the tenets of Is
and its laws and ceremonies.

This preliminary course is regarded as a neces
discipline for the "weaker brethren," and as a whole
restraint upon those who may be constitutionally
fitted to attain the heights of divine contempla
Latitude in matters of doctrine in the earlier st
frequently leads to evils which cease to trouble e
powerful intellects and devouter souls as they gain
higher levels of contemplation, so that in a later p
the trammels of ritual observance and symbolic re
nition can be cast aside.

The second stage is called TAREQUAT, or the m
of obtaining what is known as Jabroot, or Potent
or Capacity. Here the neophyte dispenses with

guide and becomes a Sufi. The third stage, ARAFF, signifies that a condition of assured knowledge or inspiration has been reached, and which occultists might call a condition of adaptship; and lastly—but this was remote and to be gained by the exalted in purity and holiness alone—was the Hagi of HAQIQAT, or the Truth itself, perfect and supreme, for the Union of the Soul with Divinity is now complete.

The Sheikh would have explained more, but it was now time to go into the Hall of SAMA, or where the occult Dervish Dance was to take place.

Clad in long scarlet robe and green turban, the Sheikh sat in the centre of a semicircular mat-covered floor. His disciples thronged the narrow balcony, and others sat around him. Most of them looked like peasants; a few townsmen, too, sat folding their legs under them, and with awe and reverence they occasionally lifted their gaze towards their Spiritual Guide.

Presently the musicians arrived, and with a nod from the Sheikh the ceremony began. At first a slow, mournful refrain; then it gathered force. A few members of the congregation rose to their feet, shouted YA-HU, YA-HU, and began to whisk themselves in the middle of the room and to dance to the music, shouting YA-HU, YA-HU. And yet more: the music rose higher and higher, little drums were thumped with renewed energy, the NAY, or the reed flute, shrieked the well-known refrain, "We are but phantom shows"—YA-HU, YA-HU. The music swelled louder and louder, more confident every second it became, till the whole room was filled with forms swirling, chanting, shrieking in the din of the music. Men were foaming at the mouth with excitement; dazed with whirling or with spiritual

ecstasy, they fell again and again on the floor, and the music rose higher and higher above the shrick YA-HU, YA-HU. Like people possessed they wh and whirled; some turbans rolled on the ground, were dishevelled, their coat skirts inflated like no on earth; they still whirled, their chants of Y trying to penetrate the clashing of cymbals and thudding of drums. Everything before me kaleidoscope, vivid, glowing, and yet so intangib I felt dazed at the spectre of it all, and could believe that the adherents of a man who spoke of such a glorious chapter of Eastern philosophy behave in such a meaningless fashion and mock real Spirit of Islam.

On my return, late at night, I walked though The yellow shield of the moon hung sadly agai dense wall of sycamore trees, the Golden Horn forlorn, as if all thought with me over the tragec has overtaken real Islam when such things as witnessed are still holding their own, in spite fact that Islam prohibits such passion plays; an cannot but heartily agree with the Ghazi Mustafa that such exhibitions are a blemish on the nam nation which wishes to prove worthy of her hig ditions. And let those who accuse the President Turkish Republic of wiping out the last trace of visit such Takkes before condemning what has been a curse of superstition and misery untold fo generations in Turkey.

Immersed in these ideas I walked on till I ar the foot of the Great Walls of the city. So indeed was I with the scene of the dance, and misrepresented the faith of the Prophet, that, ha

been a mere traveller, I would have harangued at a political meeting against such practices as were still rife amongst the less sophisticated sons of Islam. Then a rumbling noise arose somewhere: the giant engine of a train bound for Central Europe emerged from a tunnel. The carriages of the moving train rushed forth, winding through the arches like a black snake with golden spots till it had twisted itself rapidly out of sight, and I forgot my rage over the curious dance; for that train was a symbol of awakened Turkey, energetic, definite of progress, as she now glories in a better day, untrammelled by the thraldom of the Sultans and, what is more, by the ever-tightening grasp of the holy men of most unholy character.

Let us then walk up the hillside beyond Beshiktash to the Yildiz-Kiosk, the palace of Abdul Hamid; and if one could imagine him in residence there you will be questioned regarding your intentions as you pass below the palace walls, even at a distance of 600 yards from the gate. If you carry no packages, if your pockets are not bulging with possible revolvers or bombs, and you have no petition to give to the Padshah, and, above all, if the Secret Police have pronounced you as an innocent half-wit—for half-wits only are supposed there to go on a travel and see things for the sheer joy of seeing things—then you arrive at the palace gates.

A Contrast in Prayers

But you cannot understand the real significance of the freedom of modern Turkey without having a peep into the secret recess of Yildiz, or the palace of that remarkable sultan, Abdul Hamid. As the old Seraglio typified the barbaric grandeur of Byzantine palaces, the

fantastic villas and summer-houses, less Oriental more like cheap suburban houses, signified that thing was arising in the mind of new Turkey whi spite of the great autocratic Sultan, will rend asund ancient fabric. Asia was casting off its scales o don the discarded clothes of the West, yet it decided move towards better times.

Passing the guards is an easy enough matter wh have a permit, and what you see is not a vast stre lawns, gardens and palatial structures, but shrubb clusters of them—a bit of a lawn, an artificial pon a small villa. Every villa has its own small lawn, and enclosure of shrubs, till one can imagine ones a colony of curious villas with no definite archite plan. The object of such a lay-out of the Palace gr is obvious, however, to those who know of the pestuous story of Abdul Hamid's origin. He li fear of his life; his people too lived in fear of lives. The only pretence of an orderly plan here cordon of blockhouses accommodating the trusted of the Palace. And thus you have seen the resid a king who hid himself in a labyrinth called the of Yildiz; so baffling indeed are its ins and ou even to-day, when it is converted into a public casual visitor may well lose his way in it.

Having had a good walk round the new Por City of the Yildiz Palace, I strolled to the Friday m for the week's celebrated prayer. Worship mosque would have done, of course, but I chose the Hamidieh Mosque, in whose building the Persian and Gothic styles were remarkably well bl Peasants of Anatolia, soldiers of the Ghazi regim shopkeepers whose eyes had seen the Friday Salam

the sultans, came in batches, in droves or singly to the mosque to pray. Only a Hodja, or priest, wore the turban, others, discarding the brimmed hats and putting on skull caps, entered the mosque with usual reverence, but the colour and the pageantry of the hoary past was not there.

No matter how loyal you are to the present regime in Turkey, and in spite of the fact that you are convinced that in the new order of things in Stanboul value has given place to sentiment, it is impossible not to miss what was colourful. Human frailty craves after a bit of colour, a sign of show, knowing full well that such affairs are definitely opposed to the highest interests of the nation; for we are really pagans are heart, always wishing for things which are not good for us, and the Friday appearance of a monarch or a president calls for that illogical and harmful craving of the weak men, in whose world most of us live.

When I speak thus I am recollecting a day when I stood at the steps of the Hamidieh Mosque to have a glimpse of the Commander of the Faithful, as the Pan-Islamic ideals burnt in my mind and it was the day of Friday Salamlik, at which one could see the sad face of Sultan Abdul Hamid during the declining days of his reign.

I was at my place shortly after noon. The foreground was filled by stalwart Albanian soldiers interspersed by the tough-looking fighters of the far-off Anatolian plateau.

It was after nearly an hour's waiting that one heard a great rumbling of shouts of welcome. At last a little *cortège* drawn by bay horses appeared; its veiled royal occupants were swished past like a sacred casket of

jewels towards the mosque. The band struck up Hamidian anthem, and whilst you adjusted you to a full salute pose a landau drawn by magnificent Arabs came into view. Hunched into his seat, wea a frock coat, a fez, and resting his head over hi jewelled sword, sat the Sultan, acknowledging the fe tions of his people.

Behind the imperial carriage struggled along o half a dozen black eunuchs and a few minor pas full Court regalia. At the steps of the mosque pashas in dazzling uniforms received him; the so shouted, "Padishahimiz chok Yasha! (Long liv King!)," and it was wonderful to hear the old s from the lips of an old retainer: "O Padshah, b proud, for there is One much Greater than t Slowly Abdul Hamid mounted to his gallery and in the row of the Faithful; for, say what you like the atrocities of Abdul Hamid—and he indeed terror—when at prayer I, as a Moslem, respect h one who could pray as a Moslem should pray. W these devotions did him any good is best kno Abdul Hamid; no one is guardian of another soul, for before Allah every man answers for hims

The prayer over, the Sultan reviewed the troop a window on the north side of the mosque; unc tiously he emerged, entered his carriage and was away quickly, whilst the guards thanked their sta all this had passed off safely and no bomb ha thrown at the phaeton of the man who baffl European chancellors for nearly half a century. I indeed be the ideas of such an age which spun a m veil before the eyes of the last of the Turkish S when he wanted to assert his demands before t

fervedly all-powerful National Assembly at Angora. The ex-Sultan, who still resides at Nice, once admitted that by insisting on his demands he pursued a fleeting shadow of an age which ought to have been forgotten.

Sport and Storm at Sea

What prayer and meditation are to the soul sport and pastime are for the body, and respect of body-building in New Turkey has made unbelievable progress. Fifteen years ago in Istamboul you could not dream of playing football and baring your knees—in Persian you cannot do such a "Shamekin act" even now—but to-day, among other forms of sport, football is so keenly played that England might well look to her laurels.

In order to sample all kinds of sensations that throb in the present-day life of Turkey, I chose to travel on a steamer which carried the Istamboul crack team to battle against the Russian team on the shore of the Black Sea. A short journey by a slow local train and a night at sea were to bring us to the Russian town where this friendly international struggle had to take place.

Soon after a hasty evening repast I hurried to the station to catch the football steamer, and in so doing complimented myself for starting early "to get a good seat"; but men wearing green caps and brown felt hats with red tokens were already queueing before the ticket collector's window.

There were only a few dozen at first; then they increased a hundredfold, all moving in a line like a great winding, variegated snake. I lined up as well, but people came in front of me, so that whilst before my number was eighth, it soon became eighteenth, then twenty-eighth, and presently I was further behind in

the queue than when I first began. Nobody resente when, leaving my rightful place, I marched to the be ning of the queue and bought my ticket.

Meantime my luggage had disappeared—the p was attending to other wants—whistles were bl trains shrieked but did not move. I became apprehe of my suit-case; then I found it carefully locked first-class compartment, the seat marked "Reserve Eastern friend." That word "friend" of the p moved me. Would it have thus happened in Londo

When they opened the first-class compartment fo I found a number of others waiting to get in. Seeing "First Class" they hesitated a little, then asked whether they might come in, as if I had the powe allow third-class passengers in the premier class. I not the heart to fix my monocle and say, "How you?" I rather liked their honest faces, radiant that cheer which a living race only can have. They in, eight on each seat, eight others on their laps, standing in the middle; a young Turkish girl came all bedecked in green hat, green coat, even green s and stockings, asked me whether she could sit d on my suit-case. She would "sit lightly on it" assured me. Her brother sat down on the floor b her.

The train creaked and moved, the coaches lurc the occupants sang lustily the songs of old Istam which brought lumps to one's throat, for their lay a sadder note. But what affection of their golden throbbed in their throats! On the way a man disco that he was sitting on my gloves, with which he pres me with a courtesy worthy of a Persian durbar; thus to the boat.

The gangways were the battle-grounds. Ten men wanted to get through where two could not; my porter threw my suit-case on the gangway and, jumping up, invited me to do likewise. As there was 10 feet of space where cold sea lapped up the side of the boat I declined the offer. He returned my suit-case, invited another to perform the acrobatics, and lo! he did it and was in the boat.

When eventually I was on the boat it was one seething mass of human faces. All the khanums' and begums' and old pashas' sons or mere beys of Constantinople were on the boat. They were sitting packed in every room, on the stairs, dancing to their jigs in the corridors, eating oranges, bananas, even sucking lollipops. I asked the steward whether the sea was going to be rough. He replied in the affirmative, as if he were going to enjoy it.

I rolled myself in my bunk well before the start, opened the porthole and closed the door. The sound of song was floating to my ears from every direction. First one batch would sing, then another would carry on, then the third, and then they all shook the air with one mighty chorus.

There was a big hurry, shouts of "Istamboul for ever!" and songs and jigs, the ghurr-ghurr of the engines drowning it all.

Incidentally I looked out of the porthole. The distant lights of the Golden Horn dipped and rose; I thought it to be some optical illusion. Then a hundred feet ran hither and thither; a shriek and yell—the waves were lashing up.

The pitching and rolling began, the noise of song subsided a little, waves rose higher; my feet rose higher too with each wave. Then I clutched the side of

my berth; those awry lights, dipping and rising a in the distance, were making me feel distinctly comfortable in my inside, so I closed the port pulled the curtains, opened the door; a whiff of coo came up. Oh, how I would have liked to slay the who cooked just when a fellow did not feel well! I the door—the cabin became stuffy; opened the p hole—the distant lights dipped and rose again; scr the porthole again, opened the door—the whiff of fr in fat came in; and this time I had to jump dow the floor of the cabin, not to grasp my scimitar to the cook, but to fish out a receptacle. . . .

Then I felt better. All the football fans and t songs were hushed; only the swishing of waves ble with gurgling noises from various parts of the boat.

Anon there was a little altercation. I put my h out of the cabin. Three men were removing a G football follower with his half-empty bottle. "I de the stand!" he shouted. The others ignored demands. "On God's earth there is justice," grumbled.

"This is not earth," came an apt reply; "thi boat on water."

The wit of the Turk and his stoutness of heart out again; all the begums and beys joined in the as they were tying the boat at the Russian port, after weathering the storm.

There is little to say about the game itself. Turks, unfortunately, lost by a goal, but they wer downhearted.

The Black Sea coast towns, as can be imagined almost tropical even in mid-winter, and as I sat wi Turkish team waiting for the steamer to be tied u

that evening glow the hills afar off were afire with a sunset the like of which you do not see anywhere else in the world.

Here, as I sat talking to the captain of the team, I was delighted to note that not a single member of his team was crestfallen. They had done their best, all of them—ten Moslems and a Jew—but Allah's hand was in it, they thought. There sat no men under those tall cyclamen trees hearing each other groan in defeat, but full of hope for the next time. It was as refreshing as the soft incense that hung upon the boughs; and, taking account of these little things, you cannot but conclude this mighty hope in the future in the heart of new Turkey was not born for death. It was more intense, more penetrating and real, than a mere footballer's hopes for success in sport. It was something national, something which Turkey was denied for centuries; and thus, riding over a calm sea, we were back again in the morning in the Diamond City of the East.

And now, having provided the reader with a background, let me introduce the greatest hero of modern Turkey. His activities will speak for him. His personality will glow the brighter after a bird's-eye view of contemporary events in Mustafa Kamal's country before the stage was fully set for his magnificent performance.

KAMAL THE SILENT

MUSTAFA KAMAL PASHA has in his make-up someth of the taciturnity that was Napoleon's. Not re does he fly into a spate of oratory. Indeed, it is un for him to speak more than 100 words a day. M often than not he sits as mute as a Buddha, surrou by cigarette smoke.

Yet this is the man who, as a boy, was to have be Mullah. Now he has developed almost a savage dis of the Moslem clergy. The Khilfat and the Shei Islam are no more, and the new Turkey is frankly clerical.

What do we know of the early life of this extraord man?

He was born in the Turkish quarter of Saloniki small and unpretentious wooden house. His father, Riza Bey, occupied a small and ill-paid position in Customs house of the town. More often than not salary, such as it was, was paid months in arrears.

Ali Riza Bey, however, in his humble way, was a thinker. He was not one of those who regarded Turk as omnipotent. Rather did he brood on frailties of the monarchy and of his race. Poor he had reason for his misgivings. While others s to him in the Customs service waxed rich through media of "perquisites," he considered himself luc he saw his meagre salary.

He decided to forsake the Customs. There

Western firms in Salonika who made fortunes out of timber. He decided that a Turk might be as successful as they—if only one were to make the attempt. He took up the sale of wood as his profession and prospered.

Then, just as success was assured, Ali Riza Bey died; but little was saved from the wreck, and Mustafa Kamal's mother and her two children were forced to accept the asylum offered by a farmer relative.

Prior to this change in the family fortunes Kamal had been introduced to two schools. At the earnest behest of his mother he had entered a *hodja*, or clerical school. He remained there for exactly six months. His father, doubtless feeling that he had pandered sufficiently to the desires of his wife, quietly removed him and entered him in an institution conducted on Western lines.

From this atmosphere he was suddenly removed to the fields and to the cow-barns of his uncle.

For two years he acted as a farmer, and then an aunt came to the rescue. He returned to Salonika as a scholar in an intermediate school.

A year in this establishment, and there occurred one of those minor crises which was to mean so much to the boy, and, indeed, to Turkey.

Mustafa Kamal was involved in a fight, and for his part in this he received what is known in Western parlance as a "lamming."

The lad was so convinced that he was in the right, and so positive that he had been wrongly punished, that he resolved never to return to the school again. He never did. He returned to his mother, and the problem as to what was to become of him became urgent.

Mustafa Kamal knew a retired officer. This gentleman was sympathetic. He obtained permission for the lad to

sit for an examination for the Military College in Salon
Mustafa Kamal passed the examination—and his mili
career commenced.

The young cadet worked so assiduously that he
selected for promotion. He was eventually transfe
to the Academy of Military Art in Constantinople.
transfer to the capital was rendered more easy by
fact that at about this time his mother married aga
and to a man of some substance.

As an ensign of twenty he was chosen, because of
accomplishments, to be one of those in the training
for the General Staff. It was then also that he
began to take an interest in the affairs of his country.

For some years there had been in evidence a schoo
Turkish thought which would liberate the Otto
Empire from the domination of its Arab scholars,
which would substitute something which, perhaps
best described as "national individuality."

Various embryo General Staff officers accepted
creed with enthusiasm and, to further their aims, for
themselves into a secret society. Mustafa Kamal
amongst them.

In a military college it is impossible to keep secre
activities of a coterie of advanced free-thinkers, and
about the society were spread with avidity.

There were a number of alarms, and on more than
occasion the members of this group were almost
covered with dangerous propaganda in their posses
Yet Mustafa Kamal and his companions got to the
of their term without harm befalling them.

When he was twenty-three years of age he was gra
with the rank of captain, and within a few days he
to leave the Military Academy.

One night he and his companions attended a meeting of their society in a nearby house. The tale-bearers had not allowed their tongues to wag for nothing. Kamal and his colleagues were deep in their "plots" when the door was burst open. The adjutant appeared, supported by a number of police. The newly gazetted captain was hailed off to the cells.

Thus at the outset of his career Mustafa Kamal came into conflict with the Sultan and the Padishah, a curious conflict in many ways, which was to be maintained until the Sultan and the Caliphate should be hurled from Constantinople.

The conflict was curious because it could only have been maintained in a country such as Turkey. Elsewhere Mustafa Kamal would have been cashiered times out of number for his many delinquencies. Probably he would have been imprisoned for a long term, and in some countries he would most certainly have been put before a firing squad.

However, be this as it may, Mustafa Kamal and his youthful associates lay for many weeks in their tiny cells not far from the palace of the sultans.

The outlook was black, because the authorities had ample proof that the "society" had been importing literature of a questionable character. The authorities also had in their possession some of the writings of these youthful plotters. These effervescences appeared remarkably criminal when read in the cold light of day.

Mustafa Kamal was told that the least he could expect would be dismissal from the Sultan's army. If the Sultan were to be in a bad humour he might even look forward to a long period of years in a military fortress.

Mustafa Kamal owed his escape on this occasion
the jealousy of two highly-placed Ministers.

One took a serious view of the matter, and u
upon the Sultan that the most exemplary punishm
should be meted out to the miscreants.

The other, in order to belittle his opponent in
eyes of the Padishah, made light of the affair and dismi
it contemptuously as but a youthful indiscretion.

The argument of the two Ministers waged for
months, the Sultan being secretly pleased to see
who were so near his person so thoroughly at log
heads. By such means did he retain his peace of mi
Such differences of opinion made for his own pers
safety.

In the end, in order not to offend either of the Minis
the Sultan sought a compromise, and Mustafa Kamal
banished to a distant part of the Empire.

The hero-to-be was removed from Constantinopl
custody and taken to Damascus, where he was attac
to a cavalry regiment.

Here, in the intervals of fighting the Druses, he fo
time to gather around him young men of the H
quarters Staff who entertained views similar to his o

Kamal saw much of the maladministration which
on, and was determined to bring about an alteration

He succeeded in forming a society of sorts, but not
very much transpired. This increased in him the
which had long been within him to migrate to Macedo
for in Macedonia, through one cause and another, th
had congregated most of the progressives within
ranks of the army.

He accordingly wrote to a high officer friend statio
in Salonika and asked that efforts be made on his be

to secure a transfer. That officer's reply was encouraging but non-committal.

Mustafa Kamal read into the message more than was intended, and within a few days he had packed his baggage and had prepared to desert his post at Damascus. He attired himself as an English tourist and made the journey to Salonika by a circuitous route.

Eventually he presented himself before the astonished and embarrassed General, who went to some pains to point out to Kamal how awkward was the situation. He advised his immediate return to Damascus in order to avoid, if possible, the indignity of arrest.

Mustafa Kamal dallied for a few weeks, nevertheless, during which time he was admitted a member of the newly formed Committee of Union and Progress.

By this time Constantinople had been apprised of his desertion from Damascus and had discovered that he was in Salonika. A warrant for his arrest was issued.

Friends within the garrison at Salonika lost no time in acquainting him of this unwelcome fact, and he was able to slip away.

By a fortunate chance there was at that period a dispute in progress between the British and the Turks regarding the possession of Akaba, on the Red Sea. Mustafa Kamal hastened to this spot and, with the connivance of friends, actually assumed command of the Turkish forces there. Meanwhile another friend amongst the Headquarters Staff in Damascus let Constantinople know that the rumour of Mustafa Kamal's desertion had no foundation in fact for the simple reason that he had been engaged upon important military duties at Akaba for several months.

Constantinople made inquiries at Akaba, and Mustafa

Kamal was personally able to assure Constantinople telegraph that he was at his post. Thus another awkw incident was brought to a close.

In the winter of 1907–8 Kamal was at last transfe to Macedonia. He was appointed to the Headqua Staff of the Third Army.

The work of the Committee of Union and Pro proceeded, and in 1908 there occurred the revol to which reference has already been made. The e of this revolution, excellent as they were for a time, were speedily dissipated. Mustafa Kamal be a keen critic of the progressives because of the U and in order to escape from the troubled atmosphe undertook a mission to Tripoli.

He returned in time to take an active part i operations whereby the troops from Salonika ac entered Constantinople. He was present when A Hamid received his orders to quit the throne.

The period which followed the downfall of A Hamid was marked by a succession of wars, civil otherwise. Mustafa Kamal had many opportuniti plying his trade as a soldier. The year 1910 found a major on the General Staff, and in that year al visited France to witness the great French m manœuvres. It was then that he first saw a m army. He returned to Turkey with much to occu thoughts.

That winter (1910–11) Mustafa Kamal again fe of the authorities. It was his custom to hold a v meeting amongst his officers at which tactical qu and other matters were discussed.

Constantinople took umbrage at some of these " matters," and in the following spring he suddenly

himself deprived of his command. The actual charge levelled against him was that he had attempted to "incite the Army Corps to rebellion against the Government." He had to return to Constantinople in disgrace.

This did not appear to weigh heavily upon Mustafa Kamal, because it was not long before he was confirmed in his rank as major and was off to Tripoli once again.

He returned to Constantinople in 1912, when Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece determined to try conclusions with the forces of the Sultan.

The mighty Turkish armies had been routed and he was ordered with all haste to the Gallipoli Peninsular, the scene of future triumphs during the Great War. Kamal was ordered to the General Staff of an army corps, and he had the mortification of viewing further defeats of the Turkish hosts.

When the Great War broke out there was a disposition to keep Mustafa Kamal in the background. He was still regarded as a somewhat dangerous person by Constantinople, and he was met with suspicion by the progressives because of his merciless criticism of their methods. Kamal, however, insisted upon being sent to the front and, as Lieutenant-Colonel Mustafa Kamal, he was appointed a divisional commander under General Liman von Sanders. He went to Gallipoli.

As a memorial to his activities in that campaign a hill on the peninsular has been named Kamalieri.

In the great fight which ensued with the British forces at Anafarta, when the peninsular was so nearly won by the Allies, Mustafa Kamal took a personal part in the fighting. When his troops showed a certain reluctance to go forward he went to their head and led

them. He emerged from that engagement with a s
which had been smashed to pieces by an E
bullet.

General von Sanders recommended Mustafa K
as his successor in the Dardanelles, but nothing c
of this. Kamal was still far from being *persona g*
with the higher command and with the Sultan.

When the British forces evacuated the Dardan
Mustafa Kamal returned to Constantinople, whe
was received with acclamation by the people.
reception at the War Ministry, however, was n
enthusiastic. This reception became even cooler w
Kamal gave voice to opinions regarding the outco
the alliance with Germany.

Notwithstanding his personal successes on
Peninsular, this rather extraordinary man did not
at the war through rose-coloured spectacles. Wh
Sublime Porte was planning the future greatn
Turkey after the successful termination of hos
Mustafa Kamal looked realities in the face. Even
while being acclaimed as the victor of the Dardan
he predicted the eventual defeat of the German fo

The Commander-in-Chief was apprised of the
mistic utterances of this still youthful commande
it was resolved to remove him from the capital
again. This time he was dispatched to the Ca
He remained there for about a year.

When Turkey lost Baghdad in 1917 the Ot
Empire was in a bad state. Many of the pess
utterances of Mustafa Kamal had come true.

Mustafa Kamal was recalled from the Caucasu
he was given a command with General von Falke
who, with a considerable number of German t

had been put at Turkey's disposal in an effort to retake the ancient city of the Caliphs.

Kamal and von Falkenhayn had very little in common. There were disagreements on matters of policy, and eventually open quarrels. Mustafa Kamal, who had been promoted general, came to the conclusion that the reconquest of Baghdad was an operation which was beyond the forces at the disposal of Turkey.

Here again he displayed that extraordinary single-mindedness which is his by resigning his command. He was offered his old post in the Caucasus, but in order the more fully to demonstrate his disapproval of the plans of the Ministry of War he refused to return there. Nominally he went on furlough on the grounds of "ill-health."

Later, early in 1918, when the German forces were massing for their great offensive, he visited the German front in France and had conversations with the ex-Kaiser, General von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff.

Even the utterances of these men and the evidences of Germany's might ranged in a final throw for victory could not rid him of his feeling of acute foreboding. He was certain that Germany would fail.

When he returned to Constantinople he sought an interview with the Sultan, and besought his monarch personally to assume the leadership of his armies. The Sultan prevaricated, and meanwhile the Ottoman Empire was crumbling.

There was a further scare—the British had taken Jerusalem. Mustafa Kamal was ordered to Syria and was given command of an army. General von Sanders was in supreme command, but was reaching the end of his tether. His troops were dwindling, while those

under General Allenby were increasing. Reinforcem were continually promised, but they never ar neither did the transports with ammunition and sto

When Mustafa Kamal arrived at the front in Au 1918, he inspected the "army" which he was to com and was appalled with what he saw. He knew t catastrophe was imminent.

He did his utmost with the poor material at hi posal, but the strain placed upon him was such th old complaint reasserted itself. He was a sick ma month after he assumed command of his motley f the British broke through and the Turks had to r pell-mell. Mustafa Kamal, notwithstanding his sic succeeded in making some sort of stand at Aleppo he was driven out. He took a personal part in the fighting which ensued. He had to retire, however time to the mountain ranges on the frontier of Minor.

This was the beginning of the end for the Ottoman Empire.

On October 30th there was the armistice agreem an agreement which laid such a heavy hand o Turkish forces that Mustafa Kamal found him general without a command.

A more ordinary man would have retired int scurity.

Mustafa Kamal had one profession at his finge and that was soldiering. The Allies were deter that there should be no Turkish soldiery as such those that were allowed to retain their uniforms s be policemen, and policemen only.

I have told—or rather I have allowed dispatch Notes of the time to tell—the events which rais

unemployed officer to those realms of modern history occupied by such figures as Lenin and Mussolini.

He stands out as a curious mixture of the best of the Orient and the Occident.

At a period in history when the men of his race faced the future with the most doleful mien he achieved a State out of nothing but decay.

At a period when the forces of the West had Turkey in absolute thraldom he constituted a force out of nothing, and called a halt. A war-weary world listened to this cry and the forward march of the West was brought to a standstill.

So much of this success was entirely personal, so personal indeed that one is constrained to look further into the future, to that inevitable time when Mustafa Kamal must pass from the scene.

Mustafa Kamal now holds Turkey together by the force of his personality.

What will happen when that force is removed?

There is a vast element in the Turkish State which is antagonistic towards the Man of Destiny and the reforms which he has introduced. These elements remain quiescent only because it is dangerous to do otherwise.

Can he retain control for a sufficient length of time for the thorough moulding together of the different segments which he has united?

Will the opposing forces allow him to do this?

These are questions which can only be answered by Providence, a Providence which has so far retained for Turkey a life which has several times been assailed.

During the actual revolution he came within an ace of death on several occasions. Since the setting up of the present regime many attempts have been made at assassina-

tion. In the early years of his assumption of power t
were more frequent than they have been of late. T
were clumsily managed, and in most instances Mus
Kamal was forewarned of what was in store.

A seriously planned attempt at removal was, howe
made in 1927, when the Ghazi visited Smyrna.

The police discovered that three strangers w
making inquiries among the fishing-smack owners fo
passage to Chios. The hour suggested for the pas
was at variance with custom and with the tides.

Inquiries were made, and the three men were
covered in a house which possessed a verandah o
looking the route which Mustafa Kemal must fol
They had a variety of bombs in their possession.

These men, so it transpired, had been hired by oc
the Deputies of the National Assembly.

This statement revealed other interesting facts,
in the end it was discovered that a score or mo
highly-placed personages were implicated in a plo
bring about not only the death of Mustafa Kamal, b
complete reversion of all that he had introduced
the administration of the country.

The conspiracy was very widespread in that it
braced Ministers and leading members of the Y
Turks' movement.

Nearly a score of persons were eventually conde
to the scaffold for their part in the plot, among them
several ex-Ministers, Dr. Nazi Bey, one of the fou
of the Committee of Union and Progress, a fo
President of the Chamber and a number of Deputie

By making this rather terrible example Mu
Kamal has since enjoyed a certain security, but occ
ally there are rumblings—and further arrests.

Mustafa Kamal realizes that while he holds so much power in his own hands he invites attack upon his person. Nevertheless he retains his resolute grip of affairs and displays no inclination to loosen his hold.

Meanwhile he is bending Turkey to his will.

Hardly a week passes which does not see the introduction of some fresh reform.

Those who have studied the mentality of the Turks ask themselves how long these will obtain when Mustafa Kamal passes from the scene, when the dynamic force that is his is no more and lesser men aspire and fight for the leadership of their country.

Is Turkey to carry on along the road upon which this man has dragged her?

On the other hand, will she just lazily relapse into the flabby, indeterminate state which was hers at the end of the Great War?

Who will be Mustafa Kamal's successor?

It is doubtful if there can be a successor as such. Men such as Napoleon, Kamal, Lenin and Mussolini are not to be had for the asking. In many respects they are abnormal.

They cross the pages of history, and a century passes before another such force arises.

And the great dictators of past ages. Did they beget men who could follow them?

Abnormality does not always breed abnormality. Greatness scarcely follows greatness. Meantime Turkey is safe under Kamal, the Ghazi.

AN HISTORICAL GALLOP

PERHAPS the reader will join me in an historical ga
I desire, in as few short, staccato sentences as poss
to bridge the gulf of thirty or more years and pre
the picture of Turkey as it was in those fateful day
1919. Pantingly I desire to rush from the centuri
the most absolute monarchy which the world has kn
—centuries in which religion permeated into every p
of private and public life—to the eve of the new co
tution, extremely democratic in principle, and an
in which the young men of Turkey emphatically de
to be influenced by religious considerations.

The formation of a new national character is
accomplished in a night. History always points
series of mutually recognizable stages. It was so i
case of Turkey. Without tarrying by the way,
without dwelling upon the wealth of detail that is
for those who care to seek, I will briefly mention the

For a moment let us look beyond those thirty
and to the first half of the nineteenth century.
some half-hearted endeavours were made to reform
effete political system of Turkey. In 1808 Mahmu
succeeded Sultan Selim III, and for the thirty-one
of his reign he listened to those who counselled pro
even if he did not accomplish very much. Act
just prior to his death, a measure of reform know
the Hatti Sherif was proclaimed, but the successo
Mahmud would have none of it. They continu

dwell very much in the past. They thought only of the days when the might of the Turkish Empire caused all other nations to tremble. They failed to realize that, both economically and politically Turkey was becoming more and more dependent upon the great Powers. They maintained their ancient state, upheld their antiquated institutions, and squandered their revenues in pomp and ceremony.

They disdained and despised a small group of educated Turks who dreamed of restoring the Turkish Empire to its condition of former glory. These men were influenced by Western ideas and became more and more impressed with the advantages of modern forms of advancement. They grew in number and, under the leadership of such men as Reshid, and later of Midhat Pasha, they succeeded, in 1876, in overthrowing the weakly Abdul Aziz and in obtaining the grant of a new constitution.

For the space of one short year this new constitution was maintained upon the horizon. Then it faded away. Murad V followed the Sultan Abdul Aziz, but in the space of a few months he was overthrown by his brother, Abdul Hamid II. This ruler withdrew the new constitution and exiled his brother. All thought of progress departed. Abdul Hamid II maintained a constant and secret warfare against all forms of modern and independent movement—and he was not over-scrupulous in the weapons which he employed.

He introduced a drastic control of religion and a system of espionage, the ramifications of which put the whole Empire in a ferment. There were banishments and secret executions. The whole of Turkey was within the grip of an iron-fisted despot.

Even in such adverse conditions the spirit of inde-

pendence did not entirely wither. In the 'nineties th
arose in Macedonia, and especially in Salonika, the n
famous "Committee of Union and Progress." T
members of this committee have been variously descri
as "Unionists" and as "Young Turks." One of t
members of the movement was a very young officer
the General Staff. His name was Mustafa Kamal Pas

The power of this body grew with the passing of t
years, and in 1908 there was a flash in the pan. In J
of that year there was a rebellion. The Sultan for o
found himself unprepared. His army of spies had b
found wanting. He sulked, but he gave way. He gra
a new constitution, and the Committee of Union a
Progress, well satisfied with the situation, allowed
Sultan to retain his throne.

In nine months the Sultan had won back his coun
He suddenly repealed the constitution and proce
against the Committee and its adherents. The Su
however, had miscalculated. Within a surprisingly s
time the reformers from Macedonia appeared befor
palace. So quick were they that there was not tim
the arrival of the ruler's special troops from Ana
There was a bitter fight, in which the garrison of C
stantinople was defeated. Abdul Hamid lost his thr
and Mahmed V was proclaimed Sultan in his stead.

It will be seen that at that time the Young Tu
sought only development and progress. They had
deep-seated desire for revolution as such.

During this period there was much to give and
thought to the most valiant of progressives. Vio
storms continually threatened Turkey from with
There was the annexation of Bosnia and Herzego
by Austria-Hungary, the declaration of independen

Bulgaria, and a veritable train of political catastrophes which direly affected foreign policy. It can be said with some truth, indeed, that from the time of the Turco-Italian War to the end of the great World War, Turkey was never free from strife. Inexorable demands were placed upon the country's vital strength, and gradually there was forced upon Turkey a great realization. The sense of unity among Moslems could not, as was previously believed, stand out for ever against the forces of the world. Turkey discovered that there was a small country called England, whose coffers were seemingly never empty; that others—Armenians, Greeks and Arabs—could make their presence felt; that Turkey was not omnipotent.

It was a long period of storm. During its raging there was born an idea—that of Turkish Nationalism. There came into being in 1910 an organization known as the "Turkish Hearth." It was promoted by a group of educationalists whose object was to develop the national conscience. This organization prospered; so much so that during the Great War the soldiers of Turkey were fighting not so much for the throne, as they would formerly have done, but for the existence of the country. A spark of that feeling still remained in 1918, when the armistice was signed with Turkey.

The picture then was not a pleasant one. For Turkey there had been eight, and not four, years of uninterrupted struggle. She was broken and exhausted. Bulgaria had thrown down her arms. Communication with the Central Powers had gone. In Palestine and in Iraq British troops had chased the thinned Turkish divisions off the map. The leaders had either surrendered to the enemy, or had fled.

Severe terms were laid down in the armistice w ended hostilities. The Dardanelles and the Bosph as well as the forts commanding them, had to be evac and handed over to the Allies, the army had to be banded and the ships of the fleet surrendered.

The Allies reserved to themselves the right to oc any strategic point in Turkey which they deemed ne sary for the purposes of safety. Turkish railways t to be controlled by officers of the Allies, all Tu harbours were to be thrown open, all telegraph lines t to be placed under the control of the enemy; Tu prisoners of war were to remain in captivity. prisoners of war belonging to the Allies and confi Turkey were immediately to be liberated. The on terms stipulated that all German and Austrian troo Turkey were to be considered prisoners of war.

Allied and Greek men-of-war anchored off Cons nople, and Turkey could only await her fate.

Now and again maps were produced. There wo be annexations, the placing of territories under ma and under "spheres of influence," the creation of States, and it seemed that all that would be left of Tu would be a relatively small district in the interi Anatolia. The Allies, so it was freely whispered- statesmen in England and elsewhere gave colour to suggestions—were determined that the Turkish Em should be so dismembered that never again wou be able to raise its head as a world force.

Foreign troops occupied important posts in the terior of the country, and, of course, Constanti The Vilayet of Adana was given over to the Fre in Urfah, Marash, Aintab and elsewhere were the Bri Adalia and Konia were occupied by the Italians; t

English troops were at Merifun and Samsoon. On May 15th, 1919, a Greek army, with the consent of the Powers, landed at Smyrna and treated the Turkish population as a subjugated people. The breakdown of the great Ottoman Empire seemed a sure and accomplished fact. There was trouble also in the eastern provinces, where the age-long problem of the Armenians was thrusting itself once more to the fore.

Prominent Turks, appalled by the seriousness of the situation, sought for means whereby they could save at least themselves from extinction. A curious motley of organizations sprang up.

Some of the young men of Smyrna formed a league to bar the way to the Greeks. Others formed societies for forming small autonomous States within the fabric of the Empire. Others, in order to placate the Allies, would have given whole provinces in the east to the Armenians merely for the gesture. In Bitlis and El Aziz another organization was formed which had as its object the composition of a great Kurdish State under foreign domination. There were yet other societies which would offer anything to secure the ear of Mr. Lloyd George, then so prominent in the peace discussions, and the ultimate protection of Great Britain. There were other prominent Turkish personalities who were convinced that the one real means of saving the country was to secure an American protectorate.

The Sultan had one fixed idea—and that was to secure his throne and the tranquillity of himself and his Government.

From amidst this welter of mixed purposes three main propositions protruded. They were:

(1) To demand protection from England.

(2) To accept the United States as a mandatory Po
(3) To allow each district to act in its own way
according to its capabilities, and to se
separate governments.

Into this maelstrom stepped Mustafa Kamal P
He determined to create a new Turkish State.

Mustafa Kamal had been in Constantinople. He
sent to Anatolia, virtually as banishment. As a sop,
army corps were placed under his personal comm
He was ordered to Samsoon, ostensibly to report on
unsettled condition of the district. He asked for
powers, and Shakir Pasha, the Minister for War, acc
them. If his lieutenant was to restore some semb
of order he could not deny them.

Kamal made a great resolve. He determined to r
against the Sultan, both as the ruler and as the C
against the Ottoman Government and, if neces
against the Powers themselves. The fact that the
corps which he commanded, together with the re
the Turkish army, was without ammunition and
and was virtually disarmed did not deter him in
purpose.

Mustafa Kamal's first step towards the realizati
his aims was to get into touch with the Turkish a
such as it was.

MUSTAFA KAMAL'S BANISHMENT

MUSTAFA KAMAL called together some of the scattered members of the Committee of Union and Progress and an energetic assembly was set up at Sivas, which, as he explained in a document written at the time, "was a safe place."

He assumed an ascendancy over the valis and governors of Anatolia, and soon he had every district and community of that province behind him.

He pressed circulars upon all commanding officers throughout the country. He called meetings of protest, which appealed to the justice of all the civilized Powers to stem the advance of the Greeks in Smyrna. Energetic and impressive telegrams were rained upon the Great Powers and the Sublime Porte. Careful efforts were made to avoid any semblance of demonstration against the Christian peoples of Turkey. One of Mustafa Kamal's main objects in these early stages was to impress the foreigner.

Naturally there were disappointments. The people of Trezibond showed a remarkable lack of enthusiasm for his leadership. They penned a document in reply to his exhortations which read: "The Turkish nation can only exist under a Government that is organized under the supervision and control of Europe—naturally with the proviso that it remains under the sovereignty of its Padshah (Sultan)."

However, before Mustafa Kamal had been in Anatolia

a month he was in permanent communication with whole of the army; the nation, informed by mea his circulars of current events, was becoming arou the idea of national organization was growing. the leader found himself in a quandary. He was sti army commander, an officer of the Turkish army.

About this time M. Defrance, the diplomatic r sentative of France, called upon the Grand Vizi Constantinople, and advised him to proceed to with the object of defending Ottoman rights a preliminary Peace Conference.

Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, called upon Mu Kamal to return to the capital and to accompany on this mission. Mustafa Kamal demurred. The to return to Constantinople was repeated by tele through the Minister for War.

Mustafa Kamal decided that he would refuse to the summons.

The die was cast. He was an outlaw.

The moment for putting his plans into operatio arrived.

His first purpose was to form a general assem Sivas, in which all the diverse national organiz could be combined. To this end he dictated a mani It was written by a brother officer in a tent by the fal light of a candle.

This manifesto read as follows:

(1) The integrity of the country, the independence nation, is in imminent jeopardy.

(2) The Government is unequal to the task for it has assumed responsibility, the consequence that our nation is not considered.

(3) The energy and the will of the nation alone can save its independence.

(4) It is absolutely necessary that a National Assembly shall be formed to protect the country from foreign influence and be independent of all control, so that it will be free to examine the position of the nation and assert its rights before the whole world.

(5) It has been decided to convene a national congress forthwith at Sivas, which from every point of view is the safest place in Anatolia for that purpose.

(6) Every district in all the vilayets must therefore immediately send three delegates each, who possess the confidence of the nation, and they must start without delay so that they may arrive as soon as possible.

(7) To avoid any danger, this must be kept a national secret, and the delegates must travel incognito through all the districts if it should be considered necessary to do so.

I give this manifesto *in toto* because it is self-explanatory. Also it is the corner stone, the basic fabric, upon which the entire new Turkish constitution was erected.

Had Mustafa Kamal not taken his great decision definitely to break with Constantinople and to accept the personal dangers which invariably assail a rebel, it is difficult to imagine the Turkish State as it is to-day.

This fateful document was written upon a few rough sheets of ordinary notepaper.

It bore the signature of Kamal, and was followed by that of Colonel Kiasim Bey (now Kiasim Pasha), who was destined to become the Chief of Staff; Husref Husri Bey, eventually to hold the rank of Ambassador; and that of Musaffer Bey, an expert in cipher, who was

to play an important part in later stages of the drama.

Two other signatures worthy of note are those Rauf Bey and Refet Bey.

Rauf Bey had arrived that night from Constan by a devious route. He had been the friend of Ka in the camp of the Sultan. When but a few weeks Mustafa Kamal had been ordered from the capital Bey had demonstrated his friendship. He had le from a confidential source in the Palace that the upon which Kamal was to embark was to be se the Black Sea—that was, if he succeeded in le Constantinople. Mustafa Kamal preferred the de of the deep to those of the capital and slipped awa hurriedly hired motor-car.

Rauf Bey promised to follow him when the was ripe. He made the journey to Anatolia vi Smyrna front, where he was appalled by the con there prevailing. When Rauf was shown the doc he signed without question.

Refet Bey was more difficult. When pressed by to append his signature he prevaricated. He de that he could not see the object of convening a N Assembly. He was reproached by Rauf, and then a pen. He added a signature which might have anything.

When, at a much later date, this document was su to a secret session of the National Assembly th created a profound sensation.

Meanwhile the activities of Mustafa Kamal h gone altogether unmarked in Constantinople. British officers there certainly regarded him as brand, and one who might easily upset the ma

which was being evolved for the attainment of a lasting peace according to the Allied ways of thinking.

The Minister of the Interior officially prescribed his recall. In a letter detailing this the Minister wrote:

"Notwithstanding the fact that Mustafa Kamal is a prominent leader, he is not qualified to follow the present policy, in spite of his ardent patriotism and the untiring zeal displayed by him. He has entirely failed in his new position. In accordance with the demands of the English High Commissioner he has been recalled. What he has been doing and writing since his recall shows his incompetence more than anything else. As an administrator he has aggravated his political errors by telegrams which he has sent to certain organizations that have been formed without authority and without due consideration. This formal intimation of his recall carries with it the order that everybody is forbidden to enter into official correspondence with him. Nobody is to attend to any request of his regarding administrative affairs. . . . Our fate hangs in the balance at the Peace Conference after our years of madness. . . . We must give evidence of our wisdom and foresight so that we may be able to save our own lives, our property and our honour. . . . We must avoid the possibility of our country being further discredited in the eyes of the entire civilized world."

The battle between Constantinople and Mustafa Kamal grew apace.

The official rejoinder to his disobedience towards the order of recall left no doubt as to what would happen were the forces around the Sultan to become sufficiently strong to apprehend him.

Posters appeared on the walls of Sivas proclaiming

Mustafa Kamal "a dangerous man, a mutineer a traitor." Orders were passed from Constantinople "the immediate arrest of this dangerous personage"

One night in June, 1919, Mustafa Kamal was Amasia. He desired to proceed southwards, but he fully aware that plans had been made for his cap He and his companions made preparations for depa with the utmost secrecy. His destination was Siva

During the night Mustafa Kamal collected a mo force and despatched it under cover of darkness to Te some six hours' journey from Sivas. It arrived t without opposition and placed the telegraph office control. In the morning Kamal slipped away f Amasia by car, no person outside his immediate asso being any the wiser. On arrival at Tokat he wr telegram to the Vali of Sivas announcing his inte of visiting the town. He left instructions, how that the telegram was not to be dispatched until he been on the road for six hours.

At Sivas a consultation was going on between the and the principal police officials.

Said the Vali to the Chief of Police: "It is your to bind him and arrest him whenever you find opportunity."

The Chief of Police enthusiastically agreed. He thought of rapid promotion and the fruit of office bestowed by a smiling Sultan.

While this conversation was in progress a tele was delivered.

An expression of consternation came across the the Vali.

"He will be here in six hours!" he exclaimed agai

The Vali turned to the Chief of Police.

"You must do what you think best about arresting him," he said somewhat lamely.

The Chief of Police looked down his nose.

"Perhaps," he faltered, "it would be better if we deferred the ceremony for some other occasion."

Those who had been listening to the town's principal officials broke up in confusion when they realized that both the Vali and the Chief of Police were temporarily to forget the duties of their office.

"If he is not to be arrested," the notables cried, "then we must make preparations. We must go out and welcome him."

Actually Mustafa Kamal was at the gates of the town while this scene was in progress.

The most hurried preparations were made to provide a suitable welcome, and strenuous efforts were made to delay Mustafa Kamal in a farm-house outside the town. A high officer was dispatched to maintain Kamal in conversation, but the Nationalist leader became suspicious. As he explained on a later occasion, he was fearful lest the delay marked, not preparations for welcome, but designs for a sudden attack.

He jumped into his motor-car with the intention of entering Sivas immediately. As he did so another car was seen approaching. It contained the Vali.

Reshed Pasha, the holder of this office, asked Mustafa Kamal whether he would not prefer to rest for a while after the fatigue of his journey. Oriental politeness could not have gone further.

Mustafa Kamal replied that he had no desire to rest, even for a moment, and that he was determined to enter Sivas immediately. He invited the Vali to enter his car, and suggested that he should sit by his side.

The discomfited Reshed Bey knew not how to ex himself. He could hardly be seen entering the gate the town sitting beside the person whom he had ve to arrest.

"Effendim," he cried, wringing his hands in agitation, "let my Chief of Police sit beside you. Il my own car here."

"Get in!" order Kamal brusquely, and the cr fallen official obeyed with ill grace.

At the entrance of the town huge crowds had gathe Seeing the Vali sitting beside the new-comer they ra their voices in acclamation. The troops who hurriedly been summoned to the gates, not to be outd crashed their arms to the present.

The effects of this reception were to be great and reaching. The story, with embellishments, pa throughout the countryside. When a few days Mustafa Kamal entered Erzerum there was no th arrest, and the preparations for a welcome were n hurried. The entire town flocked outside the ga welcome him.

Mustafa Kamal did not allow these demonstrati warp his judgment or cause him to belittle the ta had before him.

To his growing band of followers he made it that the Government and the Allied forces in Cons nople were doing their utmost to discredit him. T who were with him had to decide, if they entere lists with him, that they would hold on no matter happened. It would be far better, he told them those not imbued with this spirit to decide to re outside the enterprise.

Moreover, the time had now come when it woul

impossible further to proceed, safeguarded to an extent by the army uniform which he wore. "Henceforth," he said, "we must be prepared to go into the public squares and places and raise our voices in the name of the rights of the nation and win the people, heart and soul, over to our cause.

"There is no doubt," he continued on this occasion, "that my having been called to this cause has rendered me liable to the most tragic consequences should my efforts end in failure. To work with me in public, therefore, is to render yourselves liable to share a similar fate. Besides, from many points of view it is not quite certain whether, after all, I am exactly the right man to face the situation."

There were those who, for a variety of reasons, begged to be excused for the moment from taking part in the movement. To those who remained Mustafa Kamal pointed out that, in spite of his formal secession from the army of the Sultan, it was an essential condition for the success of the enterprise that there should be obedience to his orders exactly, as he put it, as if he were the Commander-in-Chief.

July 10th, 1919, was the date chosen for the meeting of the National Congress, yet as this day came nearer it was apparent that many of the provincial delegates had failed to obey his summons. Indeed, many of the provincial organizations had ignored him to the extent of failing to elect delegates. Mustafa Kamal got vigorously to work. With the aid of his cipher expert he used the Government's telegraphs to some purpose and bombarded the vilayats and the Valis and the provincial commanders of the army. In the end he succeeded in marshalling sufficient delegates for his meeting to be held.

Mustafa Kamal's purpose in keeping in such c
touch with army commanders was to convince th
that, notwithstanding what was said and done in C
stantinople, little could be accomplished by the Su
if they chose to disobey the monarch's behests. A
he was anxious to win round the army to the c
arrangements which he had in mind.

While the preparations for the convening of t
National Assembly were in progress, Constantinople w
doing its utmost to bring the recalcitrant Kamal
heel.

When it first became evident that he had no inten
of returning to the capital, the Sultan suggested tha
should take leave of absence. "Stay away in Anatol
he telegraphed, "and do not meddle with things."

The Minister for War was more urgent and m
bellicose. He sent a telegram—a succession of them—
the tersest of phraseology. "Come at once," he c
manded by telegram. And when there was no r
he telegraphed, "Return immediately without fur
delay."

To this last urgent summons Mustafa Kamal re
with a laconic "I cannot."

Other army commanders known to be friendly disp
towards Mustafa Kamal received similar telegrams.
many cases Constantinople relieved them of their c
mands. Rumours were also spread to the effect th
British battalion was to be concentrated upon Siva
order to keep a close watch upon the activities of
Nationalist leader.

Certain it is that many of the commanders who w
sent to supersede Kamal's lieutenants were conveyed
their new commands in British men-of-war.

But to return to this first meeting of the National Assembly.

The Congress eventually met at Erzerum on July 23rd, 1919, in a humble schoolromm. Mustafa Kamal was elected chairman.

In his opening speech he informed the Assembly of the then condition of affairs and of the aims which he had in view. He suggested the creation of a National Areopagus founded on the will of the people, and the formation of a government that derived its strength from the same will.

The Congress at Erzerum lasted a fortnight. Its labours were mainly confined to the drawing up of regulations and deciding upon the wording of a manifesto which was to be issued to the entire country.

Constantinople did its utmost to belittle the proceedings. Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, issued a proclamation which read :

"Unrest has taken place in Anatolia. Without regard to the Constitution, assemblies have been held under the pretence that they are parliamentary sittings. It is the duty of the civil and military authorities to prevent such gatherings."

Kamal's retort was that he and those with him had a perfect right to assemble a parliament.

Before the Erzerum Congress came to an end it was decided to appoint a representative committee which would carry on its functions. Some objection was raised to this by a number of delegates, as there had been, in the first instance, to the election of Mustafa Kamal as chairman.

The leader of the Opposition was one Omar Fewsi Bey. He had been elected a delegate for some obscure

vilayat in the province of Trezibond. It was discov that in reality he was a spy in the pay of the Sul When the disclosure was made this gentleman left in haste for Constantinople.

There was one further incident before the Cong closed. The commander of the XVth Army Co quartered in the district, received a telegram from Ministry of War. This read:

"As the Sublime Porte has decided to arrest Mus Kamal on the charge that he is disobeying the or issued by the Government, you are required to exe this order without delay and to report that this has done."

The corps commander did nothing.

Difficulties were encountered in circulating the m festo which the Erzerum Congress had drawn up Constantinople made possession of a copy of the d ment a crime which was punishable with death. N theless Mustafa Kamal succeeded in his endea The cipher expert sent it over the Government's graph lines to every part of the country.

At this time Mustafa Kamal set himself the dif task of breaking down the resistance of the Constanti Government towards the Nationalist cause. With object in view he sent a long telegram to Ferid P the Grand Vizier, who had just returned from a jou to Paris to discuss peace terms. In this he said:

"Having just heard of the detailed reply w M. Clemenceau has addressed to Your Highness, fully conscious of the great weight and sorrow w must weigh upon you now on your return to stantinople. . . .

"I cannot think that there is any sensitive perso

would not be stirred to the depths by the irrevocable decision . . . to divide and annihilate the Empire in such a glaring and humiliating manner. Thank God, our nation is endowed with such fortitude of mind and intrepidity of spirit that it will never sacrifice its life and its historic traditions . . . or allow itself to be sentenced to a sentence of execution.

"I am firmly convinced that Your Highness can no longer look upon the general situation and the real interests of the Empire and of the nation with the same eyes which you regarded them three months ago.

"It is indeed very unfortunate, from the point of view of the dignity of the nation, to be compelled to admit that the different Cabinets which have followed one another over the period of the last nine months have all displayed a gradual increasing weakness, until, unhappily, they have at last exhibited complete incompetence. It is imperative, if we are to appeal with authority to the country itself, and to foreign nations, on matters connected with the fate of the country, that we should have the unqualified support of the country.

". . . The Government prefer to maintain a passive attitude.

"Permit me to insist that the nation is capable of enforcing its will in every way. No power can hold it back.

"Your Highness must be aware of the fact that the measures taken by the Government are foredoomed to failure.

"It is equally against common sense to look for a way out of our difficulties as suggested by the English.

"Moreover, the English themselves are already convinced that the real power lies in the hands of the nation. . . .

"All that the nation desires can be condense this :

"If the Government will abandon its resistance National movement, which is quite legitimate, and for support upon the nation . . . it should gua as quickly as possible that it will convene a parli that shall represent the well-being of the nation and out its will."

The reply of the Grand Vizier was lengthy and masterpiece of diplomatic suggestion. It was co in the friendliest of language.

Reshid Pasha spoke of a visit which had been p him by a number of French officers who were re in Sivas. He declared that one officer, Major B took him to one side and spoke of the activit Mustafa Kamal, remarking that he had heard it rum that the Nationalist leader was determined to con great congress in the town.

According to Reshid Pasha, Major Brunot upb him for not keeping him abreast of affairs.

At last Major Brunot said, still according to the Vizier: "I know for certain that we have def decided that, if Mustafa Kamal comes to Siva attempts to hold a congress there, we shall occup territory within five, and at the longest ten, days.

Still according to Reshid Pasha, on the morrow Brunot called again and displayed a remarkable cha front.

"I have been thinking a great deal about this since yesterday," he is supposed to have said, "and finally decided that, if Mustafa Kamal and the me of the Congress do not make speeches or do an in a hostile spirit towards the Entente Powers, the

be no objection to the Congress being held there. I am going personally to write to General Franchet d'Esperey and ask him to cancel the order for Mustafa Kamal's arrest. I have also asked him to induce the Minister of the Interior to request you not to interfere with the Congress, but only on the condition that you do not withhold anything from us. . . ."

Reshid Pasha's telegram continued: "I feel it is my duty to trust to your keen sense of judgment to discover what could have led the Major to be in a lenient mood to-day, after the emphatic remarks he made yesterday about occupying the country.

"It seems that the intention is to allow you to go to Sivas with all the other members of the Congress, under the impression that they have taken up a benevolent attitude towards this meeting, and then turn round suddenly and arrest you and all your friends together. Then they would probably carry out their threat of occupation.

". . . I am giving you the facts exactly as they are, and I beg you to keep them secret.

"It is now my duty to advise Your Excellency, in view of the net of intrigues and dangers that surround you, that you abandon your project of holding a congress at Sivas."

Some days later Mustafa Kamal was proceeding from Erzerum. When he reached the Pass of Erzingham his car was stopped by gendarmes, who were obviously in a great state of excitement.

"The Kurds of Dersim have occupied the pass," they said. "It is dangerous for you to proceed."

Some of the officers offered to send a message to the chief town in order to summon reinforcements, with the

suggestion that when the additional troops arrived they would attack the brigands and clear the road.

Had this suggestion been adopted Mustafa Kamal would have had to return to Erzerum and wait several days before the troops arrived, if they ever did. And if he failed to arrive at Sivas, which was his destination according to the schedule which he had laid down, there would be consternation among his followers. There was a danger of many taking fright in such a contingency and slipping away from the movement.

Mustafa Kamal decided to proceed. He took the precaution of sending a car ahead of the one in which he was riding. The advance car he equipped with several light Turkish machine guns. The advance party was told to ignore, as far as was possible, any fire from the hills on each side of the pass and to proceed with speed. If the brigands should hold them up, those in the car were ordered to engage with their machine guns and clear the road.

At that time the notorious Ali Galib Bey, Vali of Aziz, was ranging through the country, and Kamal could not afford entirely to ignore the warning of the gendarmerie although he was more prepared to believe that the whole affair had been engineered from Constantinople to delay his arrival at Sivas.

Actually Mustafa Kamal passed through the vilayet without incident. In the circumstances one would have thought that the Grand Vizier would have been more thorough in his methods.

He was received at Sivas with the greatest cordiality. Already a number of delegates of the Representative Committee had arrived, and meetings had been held as a preliminary to what was to be a full meeting of the National Assembly.

At these meetings, several of which had been held in secret, a number who regarded with a jealous eye the growing prestige of the leader had decided that Mustafa Kamal should no longer be allowed to act as chairman.

When the Assembly met a proposition was immediately tabled. This was to the effect that the chair should be taken in turns, daily or weekly, in alphabetical order.

Referring to this aspect of the proceedings at a later date, Mustafa Kamal remarked that it was perhaps remarkable that the proposer's name should have begun with an "A."

As the founder of the Congress, Mustafa Kamal did not take the slight lying down.

"Why should such an arrangement be necessary?" he asked the mover.

"Because," was the reply, "it would avoid all personal questions and would make a good impression on the outside world when it is seen that we respect equality."

Mustafa Kamal proposed that the matter should be put to a vote. This was rejected by a large majority. He then proposed that the chairman should be elected by secret ballot. This course was adopted, and it resulted in Mustafa Kamal being returned to the chair by practically a unanimous vote, only three persons voting against him.

Thus was another small assault upon his position successfully circumvented.

After four days of wrangling the Assembly began to discuss the resolutions which were passed at Erzerum.

It was agreed that a principle of unified defence should be adopted for the purpose of resisting any attempt at occupation or annexation, and particularly any attempt to lead to annexation by Greece or the separation of Armenia.

The question of an American mandate was disc
at great length. There were many delegates who
in this a way out of the country's difficulties.

One such speech may be quoted as indicating
point of view of many Turks at that time :

"Even if all the nations agreed to grant us com
independence," said the speaker, "we should still
help. We owe something between 400 and 500 mi
pounds. No one can afford to make anyone a
present of such a sum. We shall be asked to pay
debt. Our revenues, however, are not even enoug
pay the interest. What sort of a position shall we
then? It is clear from this that our finances will
allow us to live in independence. Besides this, w
surrounded by countries whose only wish is to d
us up between them. If we do not agree to do
we are asked we shall perish. What can we do wit
money? How can we protect ourselves witho
army? While their aeroplanes are gyrating over
heads we will have to jog along in carts. They
their dreadnoughts against us, while we cannot
build sailing ships. Even if we preserve our i
pendence to-day, sooner or later they will dismembe
country.

"The Americans who are now in Constantinople
'Do not be afraid of the mandate; it is mentione
the original regulations of the League of Nati
This is why I look upon England as our eternal en
and America as the lesser of the two. If you agree
me, we can write from here to the representative o
United States in Constantinople and ask for a tor
boat to be sent to take a delegation there secretly."

Eventually there was a compromise on this point

It was agreed that a request should be made that a delegate from the American Congress should be sent to Turkey to study conditions on the spot and report upon its real position.

A document to this effect was drawn up. Whether or not it was ever dispatched is not known.

Questioned upon the point some years later, Mustafa Kamal said that he was unable to recall whether the document left Sivas or not. In any event, he added, he attached but slight importance to it at the time—an indication of the fact, perhaps, that never for one moment did he contemplate an official request being made to America to undertake a mandate.

While the Assembly was in session Constantinople, apprised of the ill-success of its enterprise at the Pass beyond Erzerum, made another attempt to apprehend Mustafa Kamal.

It again approached Ali Galib Bey, the Vali of El Aziz, and gave him definite instructions to arrest Kamal. The telegrams dealing with this incident are not without interest, as they serve to show what was passing in the minds of the Constantinople Ministry at the time.

"As you are probably aware," telegraphed the Minister for War to Ali Galib Bey, "some of the persons who assembled at Erzerum dignified their meeting by calling it a congress. They passed certain resolutions there.

"These persons are of no more importance than their resolutions.

"Notwithstanding this, their so-called congress has caused certain rumours to be spread abroad in the country which find an exaggerated echo in Europe and produce a very bad effect.

"Although nothing really important has taken place

and there are no troops worth mentioning, the Eng
alarmed by these threats and the effect of them, ap
to be very much inclined to land a considerable num
of troops in the immediate future in the neighbourh
of Samsoon.

"It is not improbable that they will be pushed forw
afterwards in the direction of Sivas and beyond it,
will occupy very large districts if any incidents oc
which are in opposition to the orders of the Gove
ment.

"This would undoubtedly be unfavourable to
interests of the country.

"From correspondence with persons you know
who met at Erzerum, it is clearly evident that they int
to hold another congress at Sivas.

"The Government is well aware that nothing of
importance can result from such a meeting, that ev
prises only five, or even ten, persons of this town;
it is impossible to make Europe understand this.

"For this reason it is advisable to prevent this mee
being held.

"The first thing to do is to appoint a Vali at S
who enjoys the confidence of the Government, and
can be relied upon to obey to the letter, for the sake
the country, all orders transmitted to him.

"We have appointed you to this post.

"We are confident that you will have no difficulty
preventing this mere handful of men from holding
congress at Sivas.

"But we have been informed that officers of all ra
and some of the men, share the ideas of these pers
and that they will do all they possibly can to favo
the Government. We think it would be well there

in order to carry out our plans, if you are escorted by 100 or 200 trustworthy men.

"If you could manage to arrive at Sivas with about 100 or 150 mounted men recruited from the Kurds in your district, and if you would take over the dual functions of Vali and Commandant, you would be able, by skilfully using the gendarmerie and Government troops there, firmly to establish your authority.

"This should be comparatively easy.

"You will be able to stop this meeting from taking place. You will arrest those who have already arrived there and send them at once under escort to Constantinople.

"The authority of the Government having been re-established, the adventurers from the interior would be discouraged. The effect of this in foreign countries would be excellent, and the Government would be provided with a good argument to dissuade foreigners from their intention to land troops and occupy the country.

"After making exhaustive inquiries among the leading citizens of Sivas we are convinced that the people are tired of the intrigues of these people and of the pressure which they exercise to extort money from them.

"They have declared themselves ready and willing to support the Government in any way they can. From another source we have learned that it would be possible immediately to recruit as many gendarmes as we may require from the district, and that we could rely upon the assistance of influential people.

"When you can get together gendarmerie strong enough to support the Government you will dismiss your mounted escort, pay them off and send them to their homes.

St. Sophia. The Patriarch's throne was occupied by a stark-naked soldier full of wine. Mockingly he conducted a service in unseemly words. Filth and blood were being mixed in order to administer sacrament, pack animals were being trooped in laden with the loot. All sacredness had been dragged to the dust. And say what you like regarding Mahmed, the conqueror of Constantinople, he paused in the porch in respect and reprimanded a janissary who was breaking down a marble step.

"It's God's house," added the Conqueror. "Respect it as such and let us pray," he commanded.

So it has been to the day when I stood under the fading light of that mighty dome of St. Sohpia.

Neither Mahmed the conqueror of Stanboul, nor, I feel sure, does any Turk feel the pride of mere conquest in the ownership of St. Sophia. A certain attachment born of religious reverence it has upon the minds of average Moslems; for instance, myriads of legends have now grown round this noble structure. The aged keeper of the mosque told me that he regarded it as holy because its southern door was carved out from no less an ancient wood than from Noah's Ark. He took me to the western side of the gallery and pointed to a lab of marble, asking me what I saw peculiar in it. I w nothing.

"Do you not see the glow, the radiance?" He spoke ith a gleeful exhilaration. "Till that remain, Turk i ways Turk, and great!" And later he invited me t amine the degree of virtue by putting my finger i hole in a stone. Fortunately my finger emerged there m fairly cold, and the Mullah congratulated me upo extraordinary piety and strong character. I hope hi ding is true.

"You are ordered to carry out these instructi

"It is absolutely imperative, in order to ensure that strict secrecy is observed. You are forbi speak about this to anybody—even to those wit you are closely related.

"You will also be very careful, until the mo your arrival in Sivas, that those who accompa know nothing about your object.

"For the present you will have to leave you at El Aziz, and let them know that you are goi ten-days' tour of inspection of your district.

"You will start immediately, and take the n precautions to see that you arrive unexpect Sivas.

"When you arrive there, and have carried o orders, you will go personally to the telegraph of report to the Ministry, when you will receive orders.

"The present Vali of Sivas, by some means, has that he is to be recalled and replaced, and has a to the Ministry."

It would seem to the ordinary observer that t gram was sufficiently lengthy and comprehensi evidently Galib Bey telegraphed for even fuller i tions. In a further telegram the Minister for War

"The troops are very weak in number. The are trying to induce others to adopt their ideas by them an apparently national character. But the are not in favour of these intrigues.

"Your immediate departure for Sivas is be more pressing, as the papers have not yet refe your appointment. The stronger the escort that panies you the easier your success will be. De

soon as possible about the strength of your expedition; leave as quickly as you can and report."

To this Galib Bey replied:

"Everything is ready for my departure. I shall leave with sufficient troops to follow and arrest the rebels. You may rely that, with God's help, we shall be successful on the day that the meeting takes place."

Unfortunately for the Minister for War and for Galib Bey, there were agents of the National cause among the telegraphic staffs and Mustafa Kamal was apprised of what was passing.

Chancing to be in the telegraph office at Sivas on the day when Galib Bey was sending the above-quoted message, Mustafa Kamal was unable to restrain himself further and penned the following telegram to the Minister of the Interior. He ordered that it should be dispatched at once. Actually the sending of Galib Bey's message was interrupted for the transmission of Kamal's pointed attack. It read:

"You are cowards and criminals to prevent the people from laying their demands before the Padshah. You are conspiring with foreign countries against the nation.

"I do not think you are incapable of so underestimating the strength and will of the nation; I cannot believe that you can play the part of traitors to and executioners of your country. You had better think well of what you are doing.

"Beware lest the day should come when you will be called upon to render account to the nation for the infamous acts you are committing when you put your trust and confidence in nonentities such as Galib Bey and his colleagues.

"When you hear some day of the fate of the people

and of the annihilation of the troops upon whom are leaning for support, you may be sure that you recognize the fate that is lying in wait for yourselves.

Galib Bey took himself too seriously. He raised 100 Kurds, or 200, but several hundred. Having d so, he thought that he might as well sack a num of towns *en route* before preying upon Sivas.

Mustafa Kamal sent a force against him; the tr of Ali Galib and Hahlil Bey, who had been raise revolt, were dispersed. Galib Bey himself fled in des first to Urfay and then to Aleppo.

In this phase of the fight for recognition the Natio ists and Kamal Pasha had to tread warily. They co not openly attack the Sultan because of the veneta which countless thousands had for the Padshah. T Cabinet, therefore, was selected as the principal targe

Discussing the matter many months later, Mus Kamal explained that he wanted to create the impres that the Sultan would punish those who had decei him when he was convinced of their complicity. I object, therefore, was to lay a series of facts before monarch so that all would assume that he (Kar believed that the Sultan, when the treason of his Minis became manifest, would deprive the Government of confidence.

Accordingly he dispatched a telegram to Consta nople.

In a speech which he delivered in 1927 before deputies of the Republican Party, Mustafa Kamal refer to this missive. He then said: "After the us rigmarole of expressions of our devotion, as was c tomary at that time, the telegram which I addressed the Sultan ran as follows."

The telegram, without the "rigmarole," read:

"We deem it to be our duty to lay before you the following facts:

"The Government has conspired to shed the blood of Mohammedans in a fratricidal war by planning a sudden attack upon the Congress.

"It is also proved by certain documents in our possession that they have spent public funds in the attempt to dismember our territory by raising Kurdistan into revolt.

"In trying to accomplish this, and having failed, the agents of the Cabinet have run away in a disgraceful manner. When they have been arrested, they will be handed over to the avenging arm of justice.

"The nation has no confidence whatever in a Government which can organize such crimes and issue such commands as those signed by the Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior.

"The nation demands that immediate steps shall be taken for the pursuit of this gang of traitors; that they shall be severely punished, and that a new Government shall be formed that shall be composed of men of honour.

"The nation also declares that henceforth all relations and communications with the Government shall be broken off.

"Under these circumstances the army cannot do otherwise than to accord with the will of the people."

In order to add weight to this missive, and especially to the last paragraph, Mustafa Kamal ordered all army commanders throughout the country to dispatch a telegram to Constantinople which he dictated for the purpose. This telegram read:

"We feel ourselves urgently and directly obliged to

lay before our highest Chief and glorious Cal matter of the most serious importance. We beg not to put any obstacles in our way if you do not personally to accept the heavy responsibilities o serious consequences which will inevitably ens responsibilities which would rest entirely upon shoulders of Your Highness."

Throughout the night this telegram, many t repeated, kept pouring in upon a much perturbed G Vizier. It was his duty to pass them on to his Su but he demurred.

No answer came from the Sublime Porte, so Mu Kamal resorted once again to the telegraph line. time he was much more personal. He addressed Grand Vizier by name.

"The nation has completely lost confidence in y Cabinet and in yourself," he wrote. "It retains co dence in its sovereign alone. To him alone, theref will it disclose the real state of affairs and presen demands.

"Your Cabinet, fearing the fatal consequences of t unlawful actions, try to erect a wall between the na and its Padshah. If you persevere in your actions hour longer the nation will consider itself free to proc in any manner that it considers right, and will forth break off relations throughout the country with lawless Cabinet of which you are the head.

"This is the last warning which we shall give y The attitude which the nation will take up hereafter be explained to the representatives of the Entente thro the mediation of the foreign officers who are a among us."

Mustafa Kamal was informed that the Director

Telegraphs in Constantinople refused to transmit this message to the Grand Vizier.

Immediately he informed this official by telegram that, if within an hour the telegram had not been delivered, the telegraph lines between Anatolia and Constantinople would be cut.

The Grand Vizier remained obdurate. The chief of the Constantinople telegraphs still refused to transmit, so, shortly after the expiration of the time limit, the following was circulated under the name of the General Assembly at Sivas :

"As the Cabinet continues to prevent any communication with the people and their beloved Sovereign and stands in the way of expressing their desires, and as they also persevere in their malicious schemes, the nation has decided to break off all official relations with the Government, as well as all telegraphic and postal communications with Constantinople, until it is succeeded by a lawful Government.

"In agreement with the military commanders, the civil officials of the Government will see that the necessary steps are taken to give effect to this. They will inform the General Assembly of the Congress at Sivas of the result."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that in 1919, when this message was dispatched, Mustafa Kamal was definitely envisaging the day when the Sultan would be obliged to abdicate.

As a consequence all communications and relations with the Government were broken off on that date (September 12th, 1919).

The Grand Vizier's Cabinet had, some time before this rupture, been given formal orders by the Sultan to

prepare for an election of parliamentary members, the order, like so many more, had been shelved and veniently forgotten.

Mustafa Kamal decided, because of the reactio policy of the Government in Constantinople, and order to secure the defence of right, that the elec and a speedy meeting of a National Assembly in Ang would be the most effective rejoinder.

He explained to those about him that the Governm had deceived the people and had postponed the pa mentary elections from month to month.

He also declared that the Cabinet of Ferid Pasha prepared to surrender to the Allies the vilayets beyo the Taurus.

Also, he maintained, the Cabinet's next step would to make the frontier line pass through the vilayet Smyrna. Even then, he declared, Ferid Pasha (Grand Vizier) was busy coming to an agreement w the Greeks—an agreement which indicated an intenti to give up the territory already occupied by the Gr forces.

In such circumstances it was their duty, he insist to see that all town authorities and the "Union for Defence of Rights" immediately set to work to make necessary preparations for elections to the Assembly take place in the shortest possible time.

He laid down that the number of deputies must fixed to the number of inhabitants in each sanjak.

Even at this stage of the fight with Constantino Mustafa Kamal hesitated to make known to the coun at large the full force of the plans he had in contemplatio

In a circular which he issued two days after the breaki off of relations he wrote :

"The official business of the State will in future, as hitherto, be carried on strictly according to the laws in force and in the name of His Imperial Majesty. . . .

"... In anticipation of the moment when, after we have succeeded in laying our demands before our sovereign, we shall also have succeeded in forming a proper Government possessing the confidence of the nation."

There was no suggestion in any of these documents or in any of the speeches of Mustafa Kamal of a revolt against the person of the Caliph himself.

Sundry of Mustafa Kamal's lieutenants in the provinces asked pertinent questions. One army corps commander telegraphed:

"Has the question of providing for the requisite expenditure been considered, and has anything been done to cover the cost of pay and food of the officials of the army in case the situation now developing is prolonged for any length of time?

"The Government is under the tutelage of England. No pressure, no effort on our part, could bring a Government into power that would act differently. If the English, with the consent of the Cabinet, were to get the idea into their heads of carrying out an extensive programme of occupation, have you decided to take up arms against them? And how far do you feel assured of success in the event of our being forced to do that?"

In reply to some of these criticisms Mustafa Kamal sent long replies. An excerpt from one is perhaps sufficient to meet the situation. He wrote:

"... Very close relations have been established with the Americans, French and English. Their plenipotentiaries came to Sivas and arrived at a good under-

standing. We know with absolute certainty th
have sent reports to their Governments that pro
the national movement to which we belong is fa
having been instigated by two or three person
on the other hand, bears the stamp of a truly n
and general character."

In the meantime the Sultan, acting under the
of his Ministers, took what steps he could to mi
the effects of that which was happening in Anatoli

On September 20th the Sultan issued a proclam
in which he said:

"The policy which has been followed by the G
ment has resulted in the tragic events in Smyrna attr
the sympathetic attention of the civilized States a
nations of Europe.

"A special delegation has begun to institute a
partial inquiry on the spot. Our clear rights are begi
to be realized by the civilized world.

"We are not confronted with any decision or pr
intended as an attack against our national unity.

"Some people speak of so-called dissension wh
supposed to exist between the Government an
people.

"The present state of affairs can only lead to a
ponement of the elections. . . .

"I expect complete subjection to the orders o
Government from all my people.

"The sense of fair play on the part of the Great Po
and the spirit of justice exhibited by European
American public opinion, strengthen us in the ho
a speedy peace which would save our own dignit
our position in the world."

Mustafa Kamal penned a speedy counterblast:

"... What stands out most conspicuously in this proclamation," he wrote, "is the fact that His Majesty's heart is overflowing with love and anxiety for the nation and the country. But it is evident that the petition presented by the people, in which they complained of the treason of the Government, has not yet been laid before the Sovereign.

"The sincerity of expression which marks this proclamation proves beyond doubt that His Majesty would not permit the members of the Cabinet to remain for a moment longer in office if he knew that they employed the weapons of treachery against the people."

Certain valis, and particularly the Vali of Angora, added to Mustafa Kamal's difficulties. They openly derided his efforts and spoke against him on every possible occasion.

Kamal's reply was to have them arrested and brought under escort to Sivas.

Elsewhere the Constantinople Government retaliated by arresting Nationalists.

One vignette of arrest and counter-arrest is worth mentioning as not being unamusing.

The Vali of Kastamuni, a staunch supporter of Kamal, was ordered to return to Constantinople, ostensibly on Government business. When he arrived there he was promptly incarcerated. A new vali was appointed by the Cabinet, and Mustafa Kamal issued orders for this person's arrest. The officer entrusted with this duty was surprised and was himself placed under lock and key by the new vali. During the night he was rescued by Nationalist supporters, who promptly retaliated by arresting not only the new vali, but the commander of the gendarmerie.

When the officer reported his success to Mus
Kamal the Nationalist leader issued one of the firs
his executive orders. He authorized the officer to appo
himself vali of the vilayet. "Do not hesitate to
force," he said, "towards any who may offer resista
to your authority."

And—this also is important—he ordered the officer
take over the office of the General Treasurer.

At this period another important decision was ma
Ali Fuad Pasha, commanding the XXth Corps at Angor
was appointed by the Congress commander of t
National forces in western Anatolia.

The Government at Constantinople retaliated
appointing one Hamidi Pasha to succeed Fuad in
post. Hamidi Pasha succeeded in getting as far as Es
Shehr. There he hesitated and asked for further instru
tions from the Ministry of War. He was told to ret
to the capital.

There was a Nationalist commander at Eski-She
and when the British learned of the incident they ordered
this officer to be arrested. He was apprehended and se
to Constantinople.

Commenting upon the arrest, Mustafa Kamal sa
that an officer commanding National forces ought
have known better than to have fallen so easily into
hands of the enemy.

This was perhaps a hard judgment upon the unfo
tunate officer, as at that time British troops were quartere
at Eski-Shehr. They were under the command o
General Solly-Flood.

An effort had been made to secure the release of th
Nationalist officer at Eski-Shehr before he was tran
ported to Constantinople, and this led to an incident

Fuad Pasha, the newly appointed Commandant of the Nationalist forces, mustered all the troops at his command and proceeded to a small town on the outskirts of Eski-Shehr. He surrounded the place as a demonstration.

General Solly-Flood wrote a letter to Fuad Pasha on the subject. This, according to Mustafa Kamal (speech October 16th, 1927), contained expressions "that could only be regarded as an insult to the honour and dignity of the National troops and the officers commanding them."

This letter angered Mustafa Kamal, and he sent an immediate protest to the Entente representatives at Constantinople, complaining that General Solly-Flood had exceeded his authority.

A deputation consisting of a staff officer and an officer attached to the British Control Commission was sent to investigate.

This commission was received by Fuad Pasha, who was given every assurance that the British had no intention of interfering in any way with the internal affairs of the Nationalist movement.

At the same time the British made a tentative suggestion. They asked if it would be more agreeable if they withdrew their troops.

Mustafa Kamal jumped to the suggestion with remarkable alacrity.

The British forces proceeded to withdraw to Samsoon, and from thence to Constantinople. Mustafa Kamal was left master of Eski-Shehr.

There were typical reactions to this in the capital.

Further proclamations were distributed.

One read:

"The country could certainly be saved if the wise provisions of the Padshah's proclamation were observed.

"The National movement is understood by our people to be pursuing fatal aims.

"The estrangement between the people and Government must lead to foreign intervention.

"The existence of an Opposition at a moment when the Peace Conference is deciding our fate cannot be accepted as a promising sign of success or salvation."

Yet Mustafa Kamal made steady progress. Throughout Anatolia the towns and villages had declared for him; officers faithful to the Constantinople Government either submitted or fled from their posts.

Thousands of telegrams were being poured into Constantinople every day demanding the resignation of the Cabinet.

On October 2nd, 1919, Ferid Pasha resigned on "reasons of health."

Mustafa Kamal had succeeded in bringing about the downfall of Ferid Pasha's Cabinet.

News was conveyed to him that Ali Riza Pasha, a general commanding a division and a senator, had been asked by the Sultan to form a new administration.

Mustafa Kamal endeavoured to open communication with Ali Riza. This gentleman promised that he would receive a representative of the Nationalist Committee.

In the meantime, Mustafa Kamal circularized all his supporters. The points he made in this circular, which was a very lengthy document, were, briefly, as follows:

"If the new Cabinet will recognize the organization formed by the Erzerum and Sivas conferences the National forces will support it.

"The new Cabinet must not undertake anything of a binding character regarding the fate of the nation until the National Assembly has met and actual control has been permanently established.

"The delegates who will be sent to the Peace Conference must be selected from amongst those who are cognisant of the aims of the nation."

Ali Riza was asked to accept these conditions.

Mustafa Kamal followed up this demand with a telegram, which he dispatched on October 3rd, 1919, addressed to the new Grand Vizier. In this he wrote:

"The nation has been painfully affected by the pro-

ceedings of the various Cabinets which have su
one another. . . .

". . . The nation has emphatically resolved
legitimate rights shall be recognized. . . .

"In endeavouring to ensure this it has taken ex
steps. . . . The regularly organized troops have
power into their own hands. . . .

"The nation has no desire to place Your High
your colleagues who enjoy Imperial confidence
difficult position. . . .

"On the contrary, it is anxious to assist you. .

"However, the presence in the new Cabi
Ministers who have been working with Ferid
obliges us to ascertain to what degree the policy o
Ministry agrees with National aspirations.

". . . Therefore we must insist upon being inf
clearly and definitely as to whether you share
views."

On the day this telegram was sent Mustafa Kam
informed that Ali Riza had gone to the Palace t
the oath of allegiance. His agents also informe
that much confusion and uncertainy was evident
the new Cabinet.

In order therefore to press home his demands M
Kamal immediately published a further circular, in
he declared that it was necessary to maintain the
rupture with Constantinople until an agreemen
been reached with the Cabinet.

Also he indicted a message to all valis and o
commanding. In this they were instructed to bo
the capital with telegrams demanding the arrest a
trial of a number of former Cabinet Ministers.

Djemal Pasha, the new Minister of War in Cons

cople, on his appointment, had naturally to address an official note to the army.

Officers commanding, in reply to this, were instructed by Mustafa Kamal to demand the reinstatement of a number of dismissed officers, the dismissal of those who had been appointed in their place, and the immediate arrest of a number of officers who had displayed antipathy towards the National cause.

These tactics had the effect of further unsettling the Constantinople Cabinet, for on October 4th the Grand Vizier, Ali Riza, sent a reply to Mustafa Kamal's original message.

"The Cabinet," he said, "has not been informed of the character of the organizations you mention and of the claims drawn up at Erzerum and Sivas.

"Please wire me urgently the resolutions passed by these congresses so that I may be in a position to consider them. . . ."

Mustafa Kamal decided that Ali Riza was playing for time. He argued that the Cabinet could not be unaware of what was public property throughout the country, and certainly could not be ignorant of that which had brought about the downfall of the Cabinet of Ferid Pasha.

In order, however, to leave no loophole, Kamal complied with the request and dispatched the information for which he was asked. He telegraphed on October 4th, but a few hours after receiving the communication from the Grand Vizier.

It might almost seem that Ali Riza had his reply already prepared, for, still on October 4th, the Grand Vizier launched his response. In this he said:

"The Cabinet is in perfect agreement about taking

energetic action in accordance with the wishes of the people. In order to secure the welfare of and to save the country there is no doubt that the maintenance of Ottoman unity, national independence, and the throne of the Caliphate can only be secured by leaning on the strength and will of the nation as provided by the Constitution. . . .

"The delegates to be chosen for the Peace Conference will be selected from among experts who are worthy of confidence and capable of understanding the demands of the nation.

"As, according to the Constitution of this country the nation is a sovereign Power, the present Government —recognizing that it cannot come to any decision without first appealling to the will of the nation—will make the necessary provisions for holding the elections as early as possible, and thus hasten the opening of the Chamber of Deputies.

"The programme of the present Government aims at bringing all its acts into agreement with the stipulations laid down by law, and preventing and checking any action that is contrary to this.

Any abnormal and unlawful situation might, if allowed for any length of time, result in a separation between the Metropolis and Anatolia, which would have very grave consequences. It might—may God forbid it—endanger the Metropolis and lead to the occupation of different parts of the country.

The Government therefore requests you forthwith to evacuate the State buildings which you now occupy, to remove the obstacles which are placed in the way of business being carried on in the State offices, and to respect the authority of the Government, which will

not submit to any interference; to desist from entering into political relations with foreign countries; and lastly, not in any way to restrict the freedom of the people in carrying out the parliamentary elections."

This was a great rebuff for the Nationalist leader, who had begun to entertain hopes of dominating Constantinople.

Furthermore, the Grand Vizier pressed home his dvantage by issuing an order expelling the representaives of the Nationalist Committee.

Mustafa Kamal himself went to the telegraph office d stood over the operator while efforts were made to into communication with the Grand Vizier. But gentleman was elusive; having delivered his bomb- he was not going to be enticed into a personal change of pleasantries.

Mustafa Kamal therefore sat down and covered many ets of notepaper with a further telegram. In this pointed out that the "abnormal and unlawful situan" was brought about by Ferid Pasha and his Cabinet. "This situation will disappear automatically," he ceeded, "if you take decisive steps to put an end to consequences produced by the unlawful acts of that binet. Before our movement can declare its loyalty the present Cabinet the Government must first declare, in concise and definite terms, that it has friendly feelings towards our National organization."

This state of impasse continued for some days. Then the Cabinet made a move.

The Minister of the Interior approached one Yum Bey and asked him if he could not act as mediator in an effort to bring about some kind of understandin between the capital and Anatolia.

Yunus Bey accepted the situation, and this le
curious interview between Mustafa Kamal a
Minister of the Interior.

Both went personally to telegraph instrumen
their conversation was tapped out over the wires.

In this conversation it was emphasized fro
Constantinople end that the Cabinet of Riza Pash
but a temporary one, designed to hold office only
the result of the elections was known.

Mustafa Kamal, for his part, maintained tha
Government, if it desired to end the present sta
confusion, must agree to the proposals enumerate
the resolutions passed at Erzerum and Sivas.

Two days later a telegram was received from
Minister of War. This was exceedingly conciliat
It declared that the Cabinet would work in harm
with the National movement and asked for the supp
of Mustafa Kamal in bringing about a greater state
security.

Mustafa Kamal replied, assuring the Minister that
and his colleagues would work with all their stren
and in all sincerity to assist the work being carried on
the Cabinet.

He also dispatched a telegram to the Sultan expressi
his thanks on behalf of the nation.

It was not long, however, before differences of opi
manifested themselves between the Cabinet and Mus
Kamal.

Within a few days of the reconciliation, the Cabi
laid it down that there could be no connection betwe
the National movement and the "Committee of Un
and Progress."

A campaign of vilification was commenced agai

Mustafa Kamal in the papers of the capital. He was described as "a common mutineer" and "a bandit." "Dummy leader and arrant boaster," was the description applied by another journal.

The Cabinet also did remarkably little to further that co-operation with the Anatolian Nationalists for which it had so fervently asked.

It assumed an attitude of tolerance towards the peace *fourparlers*, seeking refuge in the sympathy that had been extended by America and by President Wilson.

By that time, however, President Wilson had retired from the stage, and America was displaying an apathy towards European affairs which was almost insular in its conception. Also the occupation of territories within the Ottoman Empire was quietly proceeding; Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Smyrna and Adana were overrun by foreign troops.

Yet Mustafa Kamal kept by his pact. He had said that he would assist the Cabinet, and he did so.

He pressed the people to elect their Deputies to the Chamber, and he did his utmost to inspire confidence in the Cabinet.

One thing, and one thing only, he did not do. He did not suppress the National organization; he did not dissolve the Representative Committee.

While preparations were being made for the parliamentary elections a discussion arose as to the meeting-place of the Chamber. Mustafa Kamal was definitely antagonistic to a meeting taking place in the capital. He suggested either Erzerum or Anatolia.

To add to the complexities of an already complex situation, Mustafa Kamal's friends were informing him that secret conferences were taking place in the Imperial Palace.

According to these spies—and they were exceedingly well-informed—a plot was being hatched form a Cabinet with Marshal Seki Pasha, a well-k reactionary, at its head. It was stated from Constan that it was the Sultan's purpose, within the cours few days, suddenly to call for the resignation of Al and to spring the new Cabinet upon the country.

Notwithstanding the state of uncertainty, prepara for the meeting of the Chamber proceeded, and them the discussion as to the venue.

The Nationalists were firmly of the opinion t Chamber sitting in the capital would be fre Mustafa Kamal considered that it would be overshad by the near proximity of the Sublime Porte, and the presence of Entente troops would intimidate many the more timorous Deputies. Also, there was ever possibility of some of the Deputies being placed u arrest. Some of the more ardent Nationalists h earned the enmity of many in the Metropolis.

Mustafa Kamal called a meeting of the Represen Committee.

Here it was decided that the Chamber should not m in Constantinople, if it were possible to induce t Government to nominate some other place.

An exchange of telegrams made it evident, howev that the Chamber, if it were to meet at all, would have convene in the capital.

Mustafa Kamal reluctantly agreed to the dictum, b made careful arrangements for the protection of his frien

He ordered Nationalist Deputies, before proceedi to Constantinople, to meet in groups in convenie centres. From the groups they were to form sma parties and to proceed thus to the capital. When the

were to retain their close formation, so that they could afford protection one to the other.

Dealing with the situation in a memorandum written at the time, Mustafa Kamal observed:

"Constantinople is occupied by the land forces and blockaded by the naval forces of the Allied Powers, in particular those of Great Britain; the police and the gendarmerie are in the hands of foreigners and are under united administration.

"The Greeks have elected forty persons as delegates in Constantinople. Secret police and revolutionary corps have been organized under the leadership of Greeks and officers from Athens. These people are ripe for revolt against the Government at any moment.

"Unfortunately, the Government in Constantinople has no freedom of action. Because of this, a long discussion has taken place regarding the meeting-place of the Chamber. In the event of the meeting taking place in the capital the dangers to which the Deputies would be exposed would naturally give rise to a great deal of anxiety, particularly when the patriotic duty which lies before them is taken into consideration.

"It is by no means improbable that the Allied Powers will cause the members of the Chamber to be arrested and banished if, in energetically defending the integrity of our territory, they feel themselves called upon to criticize and object to the attitude of the representatives of those States that, in defiance of the law, disregarding the stipulations of the Armistice and without thinking it necessary to wait until Peace has been signed, have occupied the most important territories of our country and have given the Christian elements an opportunity to infringe on our own vital rights.

"It may be expected that the Christian elements have taken no part in the elections—the Soci Friends of England * and other organizations resort to all possible intrigues and horrors in ad the cause of our enemies.

"Consequently the meeting of the Chamber in stantinople would not be advantageous to the hi undertaking which is expected of the Chamber. attack directed against the Chamber would simultane be a blow aimed at our independence.

"If the Chamber were to meet at a place that is s from foreign influence and afforded the necessary tection from danger, all objections to Constanti would be dispelled. If the Chamber were called to come to a definite and firm decision on the que of our independence, it would be in a far better pos to perform its patriotic duties away from the capital.

"Objections to the Chamber meeting away f Constantinople might be these:

"It might be said that it was a sign that Constantino was to be abandoned.

"Connection with the Chamber would not be easy the Government.

"But to save His Majesty inconvenience the cerem of opening Parliament could be performed in the cap or it could be performed by a commission appoi by him.

"The Government has declined to sanction a meet outside the capital.

"If the Deputies were to decline to go to Consta nople, and were to meet on their own account in so

* Here Kamal was referring to an organization known as "The Leag the Friends of England," and not the well-known Quaker society.

other town, the meeting held under such conditions would, naturally, not have the legislative character which must be possessed.

"It would, perhaps, be a meeting representing the conscience, the aims and the independencies of the nation, and in these circumstances it would be in a position to criticize and object to any decision which affected the fate of the nation.

"It would follow, however, that the Government would offer resistance and resort to coercion, entailing a further rupture between the Government and the nation."

Though Mustafa Kamal reluctantly agreed to the meeting taking place in Constantinople, and though he had declared his intention of supporting the Ministry, he had made certain reservations, one of them being that certain persons antagonistic to the National cause were not to be reinstated to their offices.

The Cabinet, however, in order to bolster up its prestige in the provinces, had naturally to make certain that local officials would obey its orders. It dismissed a number of persons who were avowedly Nationalist in sentiment and transferred to the posts rendered vacant trusted lieutenants from Constantinople.

Mustafa Kamal did not allow this to pass unnoticed.

The case of the Cadi of Eski-Shehr well illustrates his attitude.

Earlier this gentleman had thought it expedient to remove himself to the capital, because of his opposition to Mustafa Kamal. He was reinstated by the new Cabinet.

The inhabitants of the town appealed to the Ministry of the Interior and demanded his recall. No reply was received to the appeal.

An appeal was made to Mustafa Kamal, intimated that if the Cabinet allowed the man to in his post the inhabitants would feel obliged to him themselves.

Kamal's reply was typical. "The Cabinet," graphed, "has promised to conform to the aspirations. If you are unable to convince the Government of the necessity of the removal of it is evident that the only thing left for you to turn him out."

Actually the Cadi was sent packing. His tale when he returned to Constantinople was a leng but it does not fit into this narrative.

[illegible] preparations were being made for the meeting [illegible] the Chamber, events in Smyrna and elsewhere were occupying the minds of the country. In Smyrna the Greeks were consolidating their position, and elsewhere there were incidents with the Christian elements which had their repercussions in the world's Press.

In this latter connection Mustafa Kamal several times crossed swords with an English churchman, a Rev. Frew. The activities of this reverend gentleman particularly annoyed Mustafa Kamal, as he was convinced that Mr. Frew was basing his opinion of events upon coloured stories disseminated by enemies of the Nationalist cause.

He wrote a letter to Mr. Frew and addressed it to the British Embassy in Constantinople. In this he complained of Mr. Frew's association with "certain quarrelsome and self-seeking persons" who had led him "off in the wrong direction."

"England," he continued, "is making a great mistake in not trusting to the good will of the Turks. . . .

"It appears to me," he went on, "that if the people of England were to be informed of the brutal and uncivilized intrigues carried on by English officials in Turkey—documents proving these intrigues are in our possession—which are undoubtedly contrary to the intentions and interests of the English nation, they and the rest of the world would see in them strong reason for disapproval.

"You call yourself a servant of God," he addr
"May I ask whether the zeal which you di
mingling yourself in political intrigues, and in t
active part in questions that can easily lead to s
conflicts and vain bloodshed, is compatible wi
spiritual duties?"

I have no means of knowing whether Mr.
answered this letter. It did, however, have a rea
Djemal Pasha, the Minister of War, dispatch
urgent telegram to Mustafa Kamal. In this he said:

"It is well known that the Government is m
arrangements to be represented at the Peace Co
ence.

". . . The foreign representatives urgently d
that order and security in the interior of the co
should be restored. They refer in energetic terms t
emigration of the Christian populations, who are
from Anatolia in fear of being massacred and wh
seeking refuge in swarms in the territories occupi
foreign troops.

"In spite of assurances . . . certain persons in
provinces continue to interfere with the Govern
recall officials just as they think fit, and dismiss oth
they are not satisfactory to them. All this causes co
in foreign quarters.

"In any case, it is not very advisable for our Gov
ment, in face of the difficulties lying before us, to ass
a threatening attitude towards the Powers wh
called upon to decide our fate.

"Besides, foreign representatives are openly s
that there is ample evidence that two Governm
exist in the country.

"The employment of offensive expressions to any

of these Powers in particular is incompatible with the inborn tact and common sense which are characteristics of us."

Mustafa Kamal met the situation by replying immediately. He told the Minister that if the Cabinet desired to retain the confidence of the nation it would "have to adopt an attitude which conforms more to the spirit of the nation and adapts itself better to circumstances."

Differences between the Cabinet and Mustafa Kamal continued to accumulate.

In order to safeguard as far as was possible National interests in the Chamber, Kamal decided that a strong and united Chamber party should be formed prior to the opening of Parliament.

He had already advised Nationalist Deputies to forgather in certain places, and to proceed from thence to the capital in strong parties. Now he ordered Deputies to elect from amongst their number one representative from each sanjak, and to instruct these Deputies to meet him in Eski-Shehr.

It was at this period that Mustafa Kamal first conceived the idea of selecting Angora for his National headquarters. His telegram to the Deputies directing them to meet him in Eski-Shehr was, in a sense, to delude Constantinople as to his real intentions.

He was aware of the fact that the railway line connecting Eski-Shehr to Angora had been newly reopened, and that small difficulty would be experienced by the delegates of continuing their journey to the latter place when they were apprised of the change of venue.

Nevertheless the utmost efforts were made by the Cabinet to prevent this preliminary meeting of the Chamber caucus.

Urgent telegrams were dispatched by the Cab
all Deputies, ordering them to proceed to the cap
the shortest possible route.

Djemal Pasha himself entered the fray and s
lengthy telegram to Mustafa Kamal on the su
In this he said:

"It is necessary that the Chamber shall be
together as quickly as possible. . . .

"The fact that some Deputies have been call
Angora may delay the opening of Parliament.

"The delay in the opening and the fact that Dep
have been invited to Angora is regarded—among
things which are being specially exploited by the ene
as an indication that the legislative power is unde
influence of secret designs. . . .

"The Chamber cannot perform its functions u
such conditions.

"If you were to send a delegate to Constanti
with wide powers that should be sufficient to meet
purpose."

For obvious reasons the Cabinet was anxious
Deputies should not come under the personal influ
of the Nationalist leader, but Mustafa Kamal maint
his point.

In a communication which he addressed to Dj
Pasha he declared that a preliminary meeting at An
was of vital interest to the country and the nation.
a strong party supported by the national organizati
he said, "is not formed in the Chamber, if the resolu
which the nation has brought to the knowledge of
world through the General Congress at Sivas are
adopted by a crushing majority as a guiding prin
and an article of faith, the results which our nati

unity is aiming at will be destroyed and the country will be exposed to another disaster."

While this dispute was in progress another was rearing its head. This concerned the old one of commands.

The Cabinet, if it intended to retain some semblance of power, had to eradicate, as far as was possible, the National elements among the higher commands, which it believed were antagonistic to its interests.

It proposed to supplant all generals and senior officers throughout the army with officers specially selected from Constantinople.

This particularly applied to those regiments which were quartered in Anatolia.

As Mustafa Kamal was at some pains to point out, if this principle were accepted it would mean that nearly all the younger officers of high rank who had distinguished themselves in the war would have lost their commands.

Generals and others on the retired list and those who had sought renown on the "home" front would have been put in their places.

He resolved therefore determinedly to oppose any change being made in the great commands, and not to sacrifice those officers whose friendly attitude towards the National cause had been embellished by Constantinople with some sinister intention.

Djemal Pasha, the Minister of War, made a personal matter of the question and threatened to resign.

One of those long wordy exchanges ensued between the Minister and Mustafa Kamal, each being beside a telegraphic instrument.

Mustafa Kamal, speaking via the tapper from Angora, informed the Minister that to carry on with his policy

before the conclusion of Peace would inevitably lea
serious consequences.

He emphasized that it was impossible for him
consent to men who had acquired position during
war now being reduced in rank.

To sundry corps who were threatened with an exod
of commanders Mustafa Kamal directed that the
chief, if appointed, must be ignored.

The Minister of War protested. He insisted that
men who had openly joined the National moveme
were officially allowed to retain important comma
the impression would get abroad, particularly in fore
countries, that the army was taking an interest in politi

Referring again to his resignation, he remarked th
were he to leave the Cabinet over this question th
meeting of the Chamber would be no more than a
empty hope.

The insistence of the Minister of War upon th
important question of military control could be unde
stood. His threat of resignation was no empty ge
prompted by personal pique.

Actually he was experiencing considerable difficul
in controlling the forces for which he was Minister
and he was in the bad books of the Allied High Co
missioners as a consequence.

Mustafa Kamal had taken upon himself the duty
directing certain operations against the Greeks
Smyrna, and it had become evident to the Allies th
elsewhere the Turkish army was not quite the spe
force to which it should have been reduced by th
terms of the Armistice.

A strong joint Note was presented to the Cabinet
this time by the Allies, which drew specific attention

complaints made by Sir George Milne, commanding the Black Sea Army.

The Allies pointed out that it was clear the Djemal Pasha, Minister of War, instead of carrying out the instructions given to him by Sir George (instructions which were in accord with the decisions of the Supreme Council in Paris), sought to avoid the responsibility attaching to his high office by putting forth excuses and reasons which the Allies were unable to accept.

The Minister replied to this Note with further excuses. He pointed out that the entire population were unanimous in opposing the Greeks, and ended upon the note: "We ask for your kind mediation in helping us to dispel the impression that the Government and the Minister of War refuse to carry out the decisions of the Supreme Council."

The contents of the Allied Note and the reply of the Minister of War came into the possession of Mustafa Kamal. He gleaned certain new facts. One was that General Sir George Milne gave orders to the Minister of War as though the Minister were directly subservient to him, and the other was that the Minister was pleading that he could not execute the orders for "various reasons."

Mustafa Kamal interpreted this latter as an admission that the National forces were too strong for the Minister.

In other words, after having been in power for something like a month, the Cabinet was confessing that it was unable to carry out its functions.

In the meantime Mustafa Kamal's deputies were trickling into Angora by twos and threes. The preliminary meeting was held despite the active protests of the Cabinet.

It was an enthusiastic meeting, which lasted for a number of days. Yet these representatives of the Deputies must have been a sorry lot. When they got to Constantinople, notwithstanding the fervour they exhibited in the presence of Mustafa Kamal, they failed to form in the Chamber a caucus of the "Party for the Defence of Rights" as directed by Kamal.

Back in Angora, Mustafa Kamal could only fulminate. He called the Deputies cowards and "men without faith," but that did not overcome their natural timidity and their apprehension of dire results should they openly ally themselves with the National cause while within striking distance of the Sublime Porte.

So sensitive was Kamal to the atmosphere that he decided in his own mind that some form of attack against the Chamber was contemplated, and that it would be dissolved. He resolved, should such a contingency arise, that he would call a meeting of the Chamber itself and assemble it in Angora.

With this thought in his mind he considered the legal position. He spent a number of hours contemplating the intricacies of the situation. He decided that, if it could be manœuvred, it would be an excellent plan were he to be elected President of the Chamber. As President he would have the necessary qualifications and authority to recall the Deputies should they be dismissed.

He approached a number of colleagues with his plan, the idea being that he should be President only in form, the Chamber actually being carried on under the supervision of a vice-president. Mustafa Kamal had no intention of entrusting his person within the walls of Constantinople.

His colleagues in the Chamber agreed to the subterfuge,

but they failed him. The atmosphere of the capital seemed to rob them of their courage. Only one or two openly mentioned the subject within the Chamber, and then only in the lobbies.

Mustafa Kamal afterwards admitted that this setback to his schemes placed him in an extremely delicate position when the Chamber was eventually dissolved.

During the conception of this scheme the Minister of War was still floundering in his sea of despond.

The Allied Commissioners, although patient, were becoming a little captious. They presented the Government with another Note. In this they were at pains to point out in some detail some of the Minister's delinquencies.

They reproached him for :

Having appointed specially selected officers to the Staff of the National forces ;

Having sent soldiers dismissed from the regular army to those of the National forces ;

Having sent munitions, etc., for artillery ;

Having delayed the demobilization of a battalion that had returned to Constantinople from Songuldak ;

Having transferred regiments without permission.

Holding the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff personally responsible, the Note called for the resignation within forty-eight hours of these two officials.

Mustafa Kamal, when informed of the contents of the Note, counselled the Minister of War to remain in office.

He approached the Grand Vizier in the matter. " The fact that the English have demanded the recall of the Minister of War and of the Chief of Staff," he said, " is a formal attack upon the political independence of the

Empire. Does it not indicate that all the discussi about the division of the country and the annihilation our political existence have led to a final decision? (is this only a manœuvre to find out what is to be done put an end to our political existence?

"There is no doubt that if the Government were give in to this barefaced attack, and if the nation we to reply to it only in silence, we should be making easier for our enemies to deliver further deadly attac upon our political existence.

"Therefore we formally demand that the Governme which is regarded by foreign countries and our own being supported by the Union for the Defence of Right will energetically reject the proposal.

". . . The slightest degree of conciliation would only be injurious, but it would place the Government that position when it would be said that it had abandon its obligations towards the nation.

"In case of resistance, even if the English shou take it upon themselves to remove the Minister of W by force and overthrow the entire Government, t result would be better than that the Government shou consent to sacrifice its Minister as it has been ordered."

To the Minister of War Mustafa Kamal telegraphe

"You appear to have resigned. It is our duty a your own not to consent to the terms of the Note. I beg of you to do your duty and retain your office."

The Grand Vizier, in his reply to Mustafa Kam pointed out that it was not the English alone who demanded the resignation of the Minister for W "The representatives of England, Italy and France," explained, "have issued a joint ultimatum to the Sublim Porte. As the demands were considered to be in

ceptable, the Government resolved to resign. Even if the Chamber had been in session the outcome could not have been different. To induce the Allies to withdraw their demands we have endeavoured to prove that their arguments are inconclusive. The Allies replied by reiterating their demands. The resignation of the Cabinet was then an established fact in all but declaration."

The Grand Vizier added that the whole matter would be laid before the Chamber when it met in a few days' time, and begged Mustafa Kamal not to interfere in the situation in any way.

Mustafa Kamal, nevertheless, opened up immediate communication with Nationalist leaders throughout the country.

In a message which he addressed to them he explained that the English had demanded the resignation of the Minister of War. "This," he said, "constitutes an attack upon the independence of the Empire.

"The steps which the nation must take against this proceeding are part and parcel of the struggle which must be carried on for the maintenance of our independence.

"During the first phase of this struggle the responsibility will fall upon the Deputies. They will have the paramount duty of repelling the attack which the English have made. . . .

"When we go into action, however, the following points must be borne in mind :

"We must not expose ourselves to the possibility that, in some unforeseen way, an Irade will be read in the Chamber proclaiming its dissolution.

"If this appears to be at all probable, it will suffice if

all the Deputies hold a private meeting and decide upon the course which they will take.

"It is important that we declare to the Peace Conference, to the European nations, to the Islamic world and the country in general, that a deliberate blow has been struck against the . . . Empire.

"If the English do not stop these aggressive tactics it will be incumbent on the Chamber to transfer its meetings to Anatolia, and to take the administration of the affairs of the country into its own hands."

In other messages Mustafa Kamal made it clear that the English were endeavouring to elect members of the Government just as the whim took them.

"This establishes a precedent," he said, "that we give them the same power to treat a Government which has the confidence of the Chamber in a similar way to-morrow.

"The pliability of the Cabinet in leaving the nation and the Press in total ignorance, and in declining to treat this as a Cabinet question, also constitutes an attack upon the independence of the nation. Consequently this incident must not be passed over in silence."

To certain army commanders Mustafa Kamal was more direct in his instructions. He wrote:

". . . The fact that the Cabinet has tacitly consented to make concessions on questions which touch upon the National independence distinctly shows the weakness of its members. We cannot co-operate in solving the complicated questions which are before us with people who are so deficient both in character and in intelligence. Therefore the Government must be overthrown. There must come into being a Ministry worthy of the confidence of the people."

Discussing the situation with others at the time, Mustafa Kamal declared that there was a possibility of the Powers pushing forward further with their aggressive tactics and arresting certain Ministers, and possibly a number of Deputies. He resolved therefore, in anticipation of this and, as he put it, in order to be on the right side, to arrest and hold as hostages a number of foreign officers who were in Anatolia.

Amidst these many gyratory incidents the Chamber met. It does not seem to have accomplished very much in the first week of its sitting, beyond acrimonious wranglings regarding elections to committees and various points of procedure.

The Ali Riza Cabinet, scenting the air of indetermination in the Chamber, had hung on to office, though on the point of resignation every time an official of the Allied Commissioners came within hailing distance of the Sublime Porte.

The Chamber, with Mustafa Kamal's views on the situation before it, vacillated. Several opportunities arose for overthrowing the Government, but those who should have initiated the movement were timorous.

The Grand Vizier made an attempt to make capital from the situation. He made a declaration to the Chamber. In this he pointed out that he had fulfilled the most important of the tasks for which he had been called upon to accept office. He had, he claimed, put an end to the discord existing between the Government and Anatolia. Henceforth, he emphasized, the National movement would find its expression through the Chamber. And, he added portentously, he did not see what was to prevent the country from acting constitutionally in future.

Mustafa Kamal interpreted this declaration as indicating

that the National movement might no longer consti itself an opposition.

Again addressing the Chamber, the Grand Vizi became somewhat bolder. He promised a number o reforms and declared that the Cabinet would introdu a system of decentralization.

He enumerated the points of the suggested reform and then referred to foreign affairs. "The Imperi Government," he said, "considers it to be its duty no to fail to carry out the stipulations of the Armistice."

To all valis throughout the country the Grand Vizi sent urgent telegrams.

In these he pointed out that the Chamber had met and had begun to perform its functions.

"The complete carrying out of the constitution laws of the country," he added, "must now take plac free from all interference. Claims in the name of the nation can now only be made through the Assembly. Those made in any other place are hereby prohibited.

"All machinations and actions tending to interfere with the affairs of the Government will be liable in future to be punished according to the law."

Mustafa Kamal's rejoinder was succinct and to the point.

He issued a circular note in the name of the Repre sentative Committee of the Union of the Defence o the Rights of Antolia and Rumelia.

This read :

"Having succeeded in strengthening the national unity by achieving the opening of the Chamber, our Union looks upon it as one of their most important and fundamental duties to preserve the national unity till a peace is concluded that accords with the national aims

"It being of importance that our Union . . . should continue its work for the liberation of the country and the salvation of our national existence, we renew our request to the general committees and the executive committees to continue their work, so that the national organization, whose aim is to secure the existence of the nation and its maintenance, may be formed with branches extending to the farthest corners of the country."

This circular note was issued on February 17th, 1920. Two days later news was conveyed to Mustafa Kamal that the "English diplomatic representative had verbally given definite information to the Government that Constantinople would be left to the Ottoman Empire."

At the same time the British diplomatic representative demanded that Armenian massacres must cease, together with all operations against the forces of the Allies, including those of the Greeks.

It was added that if this were not done immediately an alteration would be made in the terms of Peace.

Mustafa Kamal spent many hours considering this information.

What could be the real meaning of this verbal threat? he asked. Could it mean that, in addition to the districts occupied by the Greeks, the French and others, the Allies were contemplating taking Constantinople as well? Did it mean that if their conditions were accepted the Allies would abandon their intention of laying hands on the capital?

On the other hand, did it mean this: The occupation by the Greeks, French, Italians and English was an accomplished fact, the occupation of Constantinople was contemplated; if the Turks allowed the Allied forces to remain in security and unmolested in their zones

of occupation, and if the Turks actually gave evidence of the fact that they consented to the occupation, then the Allies would abandon the idea of taking over Constantinople?

Finally, did the Allies entertain doubts of the ability of the Sublime Porte to disband the troops which the National forces had sent to the occupied zones, and did the Allies, as a consequence, plan to occupy the capital on the pretext that the Government could not prevent the harrying of Allied forces or, for that matter, put an end to the alleged massacre of Armenians?

Here it is important to note that Mustafa Kamal never admitted that there were massacres of Armenians. No sane man ever did.

Mustafa Kamal came to the conclusion that the last of these three suppositions was the nearest to the truth.

In regard to the Allies' allegation concerning the Armenians, Mustafa Kamal always stoutly averred that the Armenians, especially in the south, were armed by the Powers. Encouraged by the protection which they thus enjoyed, they molested the Moslem populations of their districts.

Speaking of the Armenians at a later date, Mustafa Kamal said:

"Animated by a spirit of revenge, they pursued a relentless policy of murder and extinction. This was responsible for the tragic incident at Marash." (The Armenians, in their frenzy, had completely destroyed the ancient Moslem town of Marash.)

"The Armenians," said Mustafa Kamal, recalling this sorry affair, "killed thousands of innocent and defenseless women and children. The Armenians were the instigators of atrocities which were unique in history.

"It is true that the Moslems offered resistance, but they were only defending their lives and their liberty.

"The telegram which the Americans, who remained in the town during the five days that the massacre of the Moslem population proceeded, sent to their representatives in Constantinople clearly indicates in an indisputable manner who were the originators of this tragedy.

"The Moslems of the Vilayet of Adana were also at that time at the mercy of the Armenians. They were in danger of being annihilated as were the people of Marash.

"And yet," he proceeded, "this being the position, the Allies send us an ultimatum and say that unless we cease punishing the Armenians they will make the Peace terms even more onerous!"

Turning to the other point in the demand—that Allied and Greek forces should remain unmolested—Mustafa Kamal reviewed the situation in Smyrna.

"The Greeks," he said at the time, "daily reinforce their troops and multiply their munitions. They deliver attacks all along their line. During the past few days an infantry regiment, a fully equipped regiment of cavalry, motor-lorries and wagons, six guns and a considerable quantity of munitions have been disembarked at Smyrna. Moreover, we learn that enormous quantities of munitions are on their way to other fronts."

Mustafa Kamal summed up the situation in a sentence. He decided that the National forces must refuse to submit either to the demands of the Allies or the wishes or the commands of the Sublime Porte in this connection.

He made many endeavours at this period to stiffen the backs of the Deputies in the Assembly, but without much success.

"The Deputies," he said at this time, in a dolorous

note written from Angora on February 25th, 1920, "have forgotten what their real duty is towards the nation. . . . At a time when the West and all those whom we call our enemies are pretending that Turkey and the Turks lack any capability, and consequently assign to themselves the right to take up any hostile action they think fit against us . . . it is painful to have to admit that our selfishness, our narrow-minded passions are blinding us and depriving us of the power to see things as they are."

Mustafa Kamal was under no illusions as to the nature of the material with which he had to deal.

To another Deputy, who wrote suggesting that yet another special *bloc* should be formed in the Chamber, he wrote: ". . . You speak of the formation of another group or party. . . . I cannot believe that any group or party comprising men of the mentality and character you describe could accomplish what you have in mind . . . I can see from the attitude of the honourable Deputies that there is a complete lack of foresight on their part which leads them to stand in our way. . . .

". . . I would remind you," he added, "that at the seat of the Caliphate, which is the meeting-place of the honourable Deputies, there are 40,000 French, 35,000 English, 2000 Greek and 4000 Italian troops, and that the English Mediterranean Fleet has cast anchor off the Palace of Funduklu."

Notwithstanding the small support he received from the Deputies in Constantinople, Mustafa Kamal maintained his decision that the demands of the Allies must be fought and, if possible, frustrated.

Under the terms of the Armistice the Turkish army had been denuded of munitions. Mustafa Kamal was

fully aware that if he were to make an impression the troops acting under his orders must have more at their command than swords and bayonets.

His first move to repair the deficiency in ammunition was characteristic of one whose military achievements in the service of the Sublime Porte were known throughout Turkey.

There was at Akbash, which is situated on the European coast not far from Gallipoli, a great ammunition depot, which was guarded by the French.

The arms and ammunition therein contained were to be handed over under the terms of the Armistice to the English, who intended to send them to General Wrangel. At this time a Russian ship had anchored off Gallipoli to transport the stores.

This was too much for Kamal.

He mentioned the matter to Koprululi Hamdi Bey, a dashing divisional commander of Nationalist troops.

There was a conference and rafts were hurriedly manufactured.

On the night of February 26th a small force crossed to the European shore on these improvised structures. The French guard was surprised, the depot was seized and a force was pushed forward to cut communications.

All the arms and great quantities of ammunition were sent to Lapseki, in the interior, the French guard accompanying the contents of the depot under escort.

When the depot was reported empty the Frenchmen were released and allowed to find their way back to their lines.

By this *coup* Mustafa Kamal became possessed of 8000 rifles, 40 machine guns and more than 20,000 cases of ammunition.

Following this incident the English landed 200 men at Panderma, but this demonstration was insufficient to compel Kamal to desist in his plans for increasing his armoury.

Throughout the country there were ammunition depots guarded by Allied troops. Many of these fell into the hands of the Nationalist forces.

Kamal acted quickly, for he suspected that orders would speedily be issued from Constantinople for the removal or destruction of such depots.

Mustafa Kamal had in mind operations against the Greeks in Smyrna, rather than any manifestation of hostility against the Great Powers. He secured his supplies of arms only just in time.

Two days after the spectacular dash to Akbash he received news that the Greeks were contemplating an offensive.

The Greeks began their offensive on March 3rd. They seized the plateau of Goldshek and Bos Dagh.

Ali Riza, the Grand Vizier in Constantinople, appalled by this fresh wave of ill-fortune, promptly resigned.

A new Ministerial crisis was initiated.

Mustafa Kamal, as soon as he learned of the fall of the Cabinet, sent a telegram to the Sultan. In this he said:

". . . All Your Imperial Majesty's subjects have united their thoughts and desires around your throne as Emperor and Caliph, and have resolved to agree to make sacrifices to secure the independence and inviolability of Your Majesty and the integrity of your Empire.

" We pray that a Cabinet will be formed that consists of honourable Ministers, and that it will agree in every particular with the aspirations of the nation. . . .

" We consider it to be our patriotic duty to lay at the

foot of the Throne the expression of our view that our country . . . could not suffer for a moment that a Prime Minister who would not be able to restore peace in the national conscience should be entrusted to form a Government.

"We consider that—may God forbid it!—if such a possibility should arise, regrettable events, unexampled in the history of the Ottoman Empire, would follow."

There were those in Constantinople who put forward the name of Mustafa Kamal as Grand Vizier.

Kamal incontinently refused the suggestion.

Silih Pasha became head of the Constantinople Government.

EVENTS outside the capital moved swiftly and gave Mustafa Kamal much anxiety.

It was reported to him that the British were receiving reinforcements on the Adrianople front. The Greeks had taken up further positions at Hademkeui, Tshorlu and Lule Byrgas.

Mustafa Kamal issued orders for the disposition of the men in various places, but the movement of Nationalist troops was sternly frowned upon by General Sir George Milne.

On the afternoon of March 11th the representatives of the Entente in Constantinople, acting on instructions from London, met to discuss the question of arresting the leaders of the National forces in the capital. It was decided, in fact, to execute arrests.

The day before, the dragoman to the French representative in Angora informed Mustafa Kamal that Withall, the British representative in Angora, was on the point of leaving for Constantinople with his staff. It was reported that Withall had packed all his furniture and his baggage.

The British were credited with the intention of suspending railway communication with Angora as soon as Withall was clear.

The Deputies in Constantinople were in a turmoil. They, not unnaturally, desired to know whether the

should flee or remain and endeavour to maintain contact with the Cabinet.

As is known, Mustafa Kamal did not have a very high opinion of those who had gone to grace the benches of the Assembly.

He wrote to Rauf Bey :

"Even if you intend to attack the Cabinet by introducing a motion of want of confidence you . . . will not have adequate support. Until I have a clear and definite idea of the cohesion and courage of the party, and whether or not it will show a definite indication of cohesion, I cannot offer any opinion.

"It would be a very good thing, however, if the Chamber, confronted with the decision of the English to make arrests, will act courageously now and will continue to do their duty."

Within two days of the receipt of this message Rauf Bey and others had allowed themselves to be arrested, and they were on their way to Malta.

Alarming telegrams began to pour in on the Nationalist leader.

The officer commanding the 10th Division in the capital telegraphed on March 9th :

"As the English have commandeered the offices of the 'Turkish Hearth' (a National organization), the latter have been transferred to the buildings of the National Institute for Education and Instruction."

To this telegram there was a laconic postscript. It read :

"These latter buildings have now also been commandeered by the English."

A gentleman named Monastirli Hamdi became very excited over the turn of events.

Mustafa Kamal was actually at the telegraph instrument in Angora when the following message came through :

" The English made a surprise attack this morning on the Government buildings at Shahsade Bashi and had a skirmish with the soldiers. The English are beginning to occupy the capital."

Mustafa Kamal took over the instrument and began to question the sender of this missive.

Hamdi was not only excited, but also somewhat incoherent.

In answer to Kamal's tappings he replied :

" Not only a trustworthy man, but all who come here confirm what I have reported. We have at this moment heard that the Military School has been occupied. English soldiers are on guard outside the telegraph office at Pera."

Mustafa Kamal gave up the task of interrogating this man and switched over to an official of the Constantinople telegraph office.

This man said :

" In the forenoon the English fought their way in. Five have been killed and about fifteen wounded. At this moment the English are patrolling the town. . . . They are now entering the Ministry of War. . . ."

And then, dramatically :

" The English are here. . . ."

Interruption of communication.

Later Hamdi succeeded in getting on to the wires once again.

He told Mustafa Kamal that British sailors had occupied the telegraph office at the Ministry of War and had cut the wires.

He added the information that the British had occupied Tophane, and that troops were being landed from British men-of-war.

He declared that during the skirmishing of the morning six Turks had been killed and sixteen wounded.

Still later he augmented this information.

"Early this morning," he said, "when our soldiers were still sleeping, British sailors occupied the post office. Our men, being suddenly aroused, were still half asleep when the fighting began.

"Meanwhile the English, who had prepared this dastardly attack, moored their warships to the quay, occupied Tophane and the Pera quarter, and later the Ministry of War.

"The telegraph office at Pera does not reply any more. God grant that they will not occupy this office! ... The Director and the officials of the telegraph office at Pera are just arriving here. They have been turned out of their office."

From that moment communication with the loquacious Hamdi ceased. Mustafa Kamal concluded that the chief telegraph office was also taken over by the British.

In point of fact, however, Hamdi was something of a hero. He did stay at the telegraph instrument until the very last moment, notwithstanding the fears for his own personal safety which he expressed.

Of the Ministers, commanders, Deputies and others in Constantinople closely allied with the Nationalist cause, none dared to open communication with Angora. But for Hamdi it would have been long before Mustafa Kamal could have been apprised of the new situation.

At a later date Hamdi was transferred to the telegraph

office at Angora and received his reward. Referring to those who had failed him at this time of stress, Mustafa Kamal remarked, somewhat caustically :

" It must be assumed that all of them were affected by deep emotion and were very much excited. I cannot say whether this was any reason why they should lose their heads to such an extent that they could not get on to the telegraph office at Angora."

Mustafa Kamal had been betrayed by those of his adherents who were in Constantinople ; he was aware the British were taking vigorous measures, communication with the capital had been cut ; he was marooned in Angora, there was an effete Government at the Sublime Porte ; he was practically without funds, and he was by no means certain upon whom he could rely for support.

Whatever opinions are held of Mustafa Kamal, it will have to be agreed that at this time of great stress and trial he remained firm and steadfast to his ideal.

He sent an immediate telegram to Refet Bey, the Nationalist commander on the Smyrna front.

In this he said :

" Although still convinced of the solidarity of the entire Moslem and civilized world, which is inspired by feelings of humanity, our nation will not long be able for the time being, to maintain connection with the friendly or hostile outside world.

" The humane attitude which we must adopt toward the Christian populations dwelling in our country is a point to bear strongly in mind. The possibility that the Christian population will not enjoy any real or apparent protection from any of the foreign Governments will in the light of the treatment which we must accord, be

conclusive evidence of the civilizing factors existing in the character of our race.

"I request you to proceed in strict accordance to the law and enforce it with vigour."

The Entente Powers, after their occupation of Constantinople, sought to circulate an official communique by telegraph throughout the country.

Warned by Hamdi of the events transpiring in the capital, Mustafa Kamal had taken early action. He had informed telegraph officers throughout Turkey of the occupation, and gave instructions that communications from the Allies were not to be circulated. As a result of this step only one or two offices accepted the communique for transmission.

The communique, however, is not without its points of interest.

It read:

"Five and a half years ago the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, who had taken the destiny of the Ottoman Empire into their hands, aided by unknown circumstances, but aided by Germany, led the Ottoman Empire and people to enter the General War.

"The result of this iniquitous and fatal policy is known.

"After having passed through sufferings of every description, the Empire and the people had to submit to such a defeat that the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress found that their only means of salvation was to ask for an Armistice and flee.

"After the Armistice the Entente Powers had one duty to fulfil.

"This consisted in preparing the ground for a peace that would secure the happiness, the future development,

the social and economic life of the entire population o the former Ottoman Empire, without distinction o race or religion.

"While the members of the Peace Conference wer engaged on this question certain individuals, partisa of the fugitive leaders of the Committee of Union an Progress, formed an organization, calling it a 'Nation organization,' and, disregarding the orders of the Sulta and the central Government, dared to commit certai acts, such as calling the population, which was com pletely reduced through the fatal consequences of th war, under arms and producing discord between ind vidual elements, besides robbing the population on th pretence of levying national contributions.

"In this way they have not secured peace, but hav commenced a new period of war.

"In spite of these intrigues and provocations th Peace Conference has continued to do its duty, and ha just decided that Constantinople shall remain unde Turkish administration.

"This decision will have a soothing effect upo Ottoman minds.

"While communicating this decision to the Sublim Porte, they have been informed of certain condition which will affect the decision referred to.

"These conditions refer to the safeguarding of th lives of the Christians living in Ottoman provinces, an in putting an end to the continual attacks that are con tinually directed against the troops of the Entent Powers and their allies.

"Although the Government has shown a certai amount of good-will in respect to this warning, the me who are working under the adopted name of 'Nation

organizations' have, unhappily, not agreed to abandon their policy of provocation and intrigue.

"On the contrary, they have tried to win the Government over to their side to co-operate in their enterprises.

"In view of this situation, which constitutes a grave danger to the Peace for which everybody is anxiously longing, the Entente Powers have seen themselves forced to consider certain steps that will secure the conduct of the Peace negotiations which will soon begin.

"For this purpose they have discovered one way only to do this, namely, to proceed to the temporary occupation of Constantinople.

"The following points are brought to public knowledge:

"The occupation is temporary.

"The aim of the Entente Powers is not to weaken, but rather to strengthen, the authority of the Sultanate in the territories that will remain under Ottoman administration.

"The aim of the Entente Powers also is not to separate Constantinople from the Turks, but if—God forbid—extensive unrest or sanguinary persecution should occur it is very likely that this decision will be altered.

"The duty imposed upon all Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans in this time of difficulty is to carry on their business, to assist in the maintenance of order, to close their ears to the lies of those who want by their acts of madness to destroy the last hope of building up a new Turkey on the ruins of the old, and to obey the orders issued from Constantinople, which at the present moment is the seat of the Sultanate.

"Some of the persons who have been taking part in the intrigues referred to have been arrested. They will,

naturally, be held responsible for their acts and for the events which have been produced thereby."

This communique was issued over the name of the Army of Occupation.

As a rejoinder to this communique Mustafa Kamal addressed a message, through the Italian representative at Adalia, to the diplomatic representatives of England, France and Italy, the diplomatic representative of the United States in Constantinople, the foreign Ministers in neutral countries, and the legislative chambers of France, England and Italy.

In this message he said :

" All the official buildings in Constantinople, including the Chamber of Deputies, which represents the symbol of our national independence, have been formally and forcibly occupied by the troops of the Entente Powers, and they have proceeded to arrest a great number of patriots who have been acting in accord with the aims of the National movement.

" This last blow, which has just been directed against the sovereignty and political freedom of the Ottoman nation, strikes—still more than at the Ottomans who are resolved to defend their lives and their independence at all costs—at the principles which have been regarded by humanity and civilization as sacred, such as the sense of freedom, of nationality and country ; at the principles also of modern society and human conscience.

" As for ourselves, we are imbued with the sacred character of the struggle upon which we have entered for the defence of our rights and our independence, and we are convinced that there is no power on earth which can deprive a nation of its right to existence.

" We are not content to leave it to official Europe and

erica, but to the Europe and America of science, ture and civilization, to judge rightly the character this step, which constitutes a conspiracy such as tory has never recorded, and which is incompatible th the honour and the self-respect of the peoples o have joined it. It is actually based on downright honesty. By an Armistice based on Wilson's prin-les the nation has been deprived of all means of fence. Once more, and for the last time, we draw ur attention to the great responsibility in the eyes of tory which this event will involve."

Mustafa Kamal ordered all valis and army commanders send similar telegrams of protest.

At the same time he learned that the Constantinople eputies, assured of the impossibility of carrying on ith their legislative functions, had scattered. Many ere fleeing in the direction of Angora. He gave orders at their passage should be facilitated.

For two days and nights Mustafa Kamal remained at e telegraph instrument, taking neither rest nor refresh-ent. He was in constant communication with his llowers all over the country.

On March 19th, three days after the occupation of the apital by Allied forces, he determined that there should e a meeting of the Assembly at Angora, furnished with traordinary powers.

To all concerned he dispatched a memorandum.

In this he said :

"The formal occupation of the metropolis by the Entente Powers has disorganized the national forces of he State—that is to say, the legislative, the executive nd the judicial power.

"The Chamber of Deputies has been dissolved

through the Government having been informed that under prevailing conditions there is no possibility of the Deputies being able to perform their duties.

"With the object of considering and carrying out the best way to secure the inviolability of the capital, the independence of the nation and the liberation of the country, it has been deemed absolutely necessary to convene an Assembly in Angora that will be furnished with extraordinary powers and will permit those members of the Chamber that has been dissolved to come to Angora to take part in it."

Thereafter Mustafa Kamal gave detailed instructions as to the manner in which the election of Deputies would be carried out.

He ended with the stipulation that the elections must be held, at the latest, within a fortnight.

It was at this period that the embarrassment created by the Constantinople Assembly's disinclination to elect him President caused Mustafa Kamal much distress.

He was worried by the legal position which his actions had created.

He was not informed as to the movements of Djelaleddin Arif Bey, the elected President of the Assembly. He decided at one moment that he would wait and see if this person would present himself at Angora the next, not to waste time on an improbability.

Nevertheless he endeavoured to get into communication with the President. He sent him a lengthy telegram, the burden of which was a request for confirmation of the edict calling a meeting of the Assembly at Angora.

The Assembly President sent a reply to this communication.

In this he said that, while it would be well to convene an extraordinary meeting of the Assembly, it was necessary that it should be constituted according to law.

The reply went on :

"It is true that our constitution does not provide for anything like the meeting of such an extraordinary Assembly, but it is helpful in this case to refer to the provisions of other constitutions.

"Thus, for example, the French constitution provides that if the Chamber were to be legally dissolved, or had been attacked, the members of the Chamber who had been able to escape should assemble in a suitable place ... and discuss the necessary plans for the reopening of the Chamber."

The President added that when he arrived in Angora he would confer with Mustafa Kamal on the point when, he insisted, a new memorandum must be issued.

Actually, of course, there was a considerable diversity of opinion between the views of the President of the Assembly and those entertained by Mustafa Kamal.

When he resolved that a meeting of the Assembly should be called, armed with extraordinary powers, Mustafa Kamal was well aware that there was no provision in the constitution for such an assembly.

Moreover, it was not in his mind to call a meeting of Deputies of the Chamber as it then existed.

On the contrary, he envisaged an entirely different body, endowed with different powers, with which he hoped he would be able to overcome the successive stages of the revolution which, even at that time, he undoubtedly had in mind.

For these reasons Mustafa Kamal never entertained any real hope of being able to bridge the gap between

his conception of the duties of the new Assembly as those of the President.

When Djelaleddin Arif Bey eventually arrived in Angora he held a series of lengthy discussions on the legal points involved with a number of constitutional lawyers.

These discussions did not lead very far, as the elected President maintained the view that the chief duty of the Assembly, when it met, would be to guarantee a continuance of its sessions in Constantinople.

Just at that moment Mustafa Kamal was not very interested in the capital.

Meanwhile the elections began to take place seriously and rapidly all over the country in accordance with the instructions issued from Angora.

A certain amount of reluctance and hesitation was manifested in a number of districts, but it soon became apparent that an Assembly would indeed meet at Angora.

In other directions, however, Mustafa Kamal had to meet with a considerable amount of opposition.

He was informed, for instance, that the attitude of the troops at Samsoon was "doubtful," and that the officers entertained a strong regard for the Sultan.

Newspapers and reports which came trickling in from the capital reported that buildings which had been commandeered by the Allied forces were completely evacuated on the second day of the occupation, and that the Cabinet was functioning as usual.

Many were there to ask in relation to Mustafa Kamal "What is all the fuss about? Who is this man to work behind the back of the Cabinet? Surely there is still a Ministry in Constantinople?"

The officer who reported the unrest at Samsoon added the following observation:

"There is nothing out of the way in putting an officer under arrest here, but if this should occur now it might lead to a march on Angora."

Bridges and roads were destroyed in a number of places in order to embarrass Mustafa Kamal's adherents. At Ada Bazar manifestations were made against the National movement, the telegraph wires were cut, and a bridge was blown up.

In other parts of the country societies and organizations sprang up which declared that they would recognize no person but the Sultan. They swore to sacrifice all their possessions and the lives of their members in exterminating the National forces.

Mustafa Kamal did his utmost to restrain these reactions. Certainly he did his utmost to keep the newly elected Deputies from learning of these events. He wanted a meeting at Angora at all costs, and he was quite aware of the fact that, were the Deputies apprised of the extent of the movement against him, they would find a more comforting abiding place than Angora threatened to be.

He maintained a rigid hold upon the telegraphs and called for a meeting of the Assembly on April 23rd, 1920. Mustafa Kamal sought to embellish the occasion with a certain solemnity.

In a circular note which he issued to Deputies he said:

"As the duties of the National Assembly will be of a vital description and of the utmost importance—such as, for instance, securing the independence of the country—and as it will be opened on a Friday, the solemn character

of the day will be emphasized by the offer of prayer before the opening, in the Hadji Beiram Mosque.

"All the honourable Deputies will take part in the prayer, in the course of which the light of the Koran and the call to prayer will be poured forth over all Believers.

"When the prayer is over we shall move to the place of meeting, specially decorated with the sacred flag and the holy relic.

"Before entering the building a prayer of thanksgiving will be said, and sheep will be sacrificed as a thank-offering.

"During the ceremony the troops of the National forces will line the road leading from the mosque to the building, and will take up special positions *en route*.

"In every part of our sacred suffering country the reading of the Koran and the Buchari will begin from to-day onward, and before the Friday prayer the solemn call to prayer is to be intoned from the minarets.

"When during the Khutbah (a Mohammedan prayer and sermon delivered in the mosques on Fridays) the Imperial title of His Majesty, our Sultan and Caliph will be pronounced, special prayers and petitions will be offered begging that within a short space of time his Sublime Person, his imperial States and all his oppressed subjects will regain freedom and happiness."

I give the foregoing and do not endeavour to put phrase in order to demonstrate Mustafa Kamal's activity of that date.

The Sultanate was still to be pre-eminent.

In chronicling that which has gone before I have endeavoured to sketch the events which led to the revolution. Much of the narrative was necessarily sketchy. If the sequence was sometimes a little ragged, my excuse is that there were hundreds of by-channels which might have been explored, all of which had their bearing on the main stream of events.

Also, as far as possible, I have allowed actual documents to carry the tale, believing that therein lay the true story of these years of the life of Mustafa Kamal.

By restraining the personal urge to comment, the story has remained untinged and, I hope, unbiased. Those who have read have formed their own opinions.

That is as it should be.

In what follows I will deal with the revolution proper, from the time that the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was established.

The documents which I will cite are to be found in the proceedings of the Assembly, in the Ministerial reports and the newspapers of the day. I do not, of course, rely entirely upon this data for maintaining the narrative, but I follow the line indicated by these documents in order, as far as is possible, to keep in check the natural desires of the story-teller to underline this and to shade that. If the lights and shadows of the narrative suffer in consequence it is because I am anxious to retain a neutral perspective.

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indicated the political principles which Turkey and the Turkish nation would be required to adopt.

He arrived at the conclusion that none of the doctrines of the old Turkey was suitable for the new.

Life as Mustafa Kamal looked at it consisted mainly of struggle and conflict. All, in his opinion, depended upon strength and upon moral and material energy.

The conflicts between the Eastern and Western worlds marked, in his view, some of the most important pages in history. Also it was generally accepted that among the peoples of the Orient the Turks were the element who had borne the brunt of these struggles. Both before and after the rise of Islam, it had been the Turks who had penetrated into Europe and had attacked and conducted invasions in all directions.

The Ottoman State, founded on Constantinople, was founded on the ruins of that of the Seldchuk. Among the Ottoman rulers there had been some who had endeavoured to form a gigantic empire by seizing Germany and West-Rome. The Ottoman rulers obtained command of Syria and Egypt and earned for themselves the title of Caliph.

Yet another Sultan pursued this twofold aim. He sought to obtain the mastery over Europe and to subject the Islamic world to his authority and judgment.

The continuous counter-attacks from the West and the discontent and insurrections of the Moslem peoples had, throughout the ages, gradually weakened and wasted the Empire.

He summed up the foreign policy of the sultans as being individual rather than national. It was, declared Mustafa Kamal in a speech to the new Assembly, both deficient in clarity and continuity.

Said Mustafa Kamal:

"The political system which we regard as clear and easily realizable is a national one. In view of the general conditions obtaining in the world at present, and the truths which, in the course of centuries, have rooted themselves in the minds of and have formed the characters of mankind, no greater mistake could be made than that of being a Utopian.

"In order that our nation shall be happy and have a prosperous and permanent life, it is necessary that the state should pursue an exclusively national policy, and that this policy should be in perfect agreement with our national organization and be based on it.

"When I speak of national policy I speak in this sense, viz., to work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country by, above all, relying on our strength in order to retain our existence."

The foreign policy and the home policy evolved by Mustafa Kamal was thus fundamentally different to that which had been fostered by the Sublime Porte over a period of centuries.

In forming what was virtually a secondary Government at Angora, Mustafa Kamal had to proceed very warily.

There was no doubt in his own mind that his actions had led to the creation of a new State. Those who gave it their support tacitly admitted the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of the Caliphate.

Yet openly to speak of the position thus created would assuredly have jeopardized the aims which Mustafa Kamal had in view.

Even in Angora itself there was a general disposition

to find excuses for the Sultan and to regard him as the unfortunate victim of rascally Cabinets.

Even in the new General Assembly itself, if one takes the trouble to examine the reports of the speeches of the first few months, one discovers a tendency on the part of Deputies to seek communion with the Caliph and union with the Central Government in Constantinople.

The majority of those who thronged around Mustafa Kamal's banner at that time were revolutionary only to the degree of desiring to carry on the work of the Assembly. They imagined that they were slightly unconstitutional in their actions, but they firmly believed that they were assisting the Sultan to overcome the will of the Entente Powers. The remainder were revolutionary only because they had failed to appreciate in its true light the new situation which had been created.

Had it been whispered during those early months that the Sultan would eventually flee from his palace and take refuge in an unpretentious villa in Switzerland, there would have been a stampede from Angora.

Mustafa Kamal had to feel his way with consummate caution.

To those who would open up communications with the capital he painted a picture of Constantinople in thraldom. He asked what could be obtained by communion with a Sultan definitely under the heel of the Allies.

He enumerated the following principles :

"It is absolutely necessary to form a Government.

"We cannot allow the chief of this Government to be defined as 'provisional.'

"There can be no question of a Regency being established.

"It is a vital principle to recognize that the nation's ll, as expressed by the Assembly, is actually governing e destiny of the country.

"There is no power standing above the Grand tional Assembly of Turkey.

"The Grand National Assembly of Turkey combines itself the executive and the legislative power.

"A Council elected and authorized by the Assembly ll conduct the affairs of the Government. The sident of the Assembly is at the same time President the Council."

(Here Mustafa Kamal was constrained to add a foot-te. He said: "As soon as the Sultan-Caliph is lieved from all pressure and coercion he will take his ce within the frame of the legislative principles which lbe determined by the Assembly.")

To many who flocked to Angora, Mustafa Kamal was ll the official firebrand. In lending their support to e new Assembly they thought that a more delicate nstruction would be placed on their motives if Mustafa mal remained in the background. They were chary, other words, in whole-heartedly identifying themselves ith one who was definitely *non persona grata* with the blime Porte and with the Allied forces.

There were some who had the courage to voice their oughts. They declared that Mustafa Kamal was sponsible for much of the trouble that had come upon e nation, and that it was illogical for a people beset enemies on every hand to expose itself to dangers of ery description at the behest of one man.

To counter this propaganda Mustafa Kamal called a cret session of the Assembly for April 24th, 1920.

He put this point clearly and concisely to the Deputies.

While this question was still liquid, accounts of hostilities against the National forces continued to pour into Angora, to the dismay of the Deputies and the secret delight of those who would sidetrack Mustafa Kamal.

Internal upheavals spread rapidly throughout the country, the territories involved being Panderma, Gonan, Susigirlik, Kirmasli, Karadsha Bey, Ismidt, Ada Bazar, Duzje, Hendek, Bolu, Gerede, Nalikhan, Bey Bazar, Boskir, Konia, Ilgham, Kadinhan, Karaman, Tjivril, Seidi Shahr, Koj Hissar, Yosgsd Yeni Han, Bochasliar, Sile, Erbaa, Tshorum, Imranie, Refahie, Sara, Hafik and Viran Shehr.

Quite an imposing uprising and one which, in more ordinary circumstances, would have conveyed to the person against whom it was directed that he was unpopular and not the centre of the national will as he so steadfastly maintained.

Mustafa Kamal's enemies did not hesitate to carry their campaign against him right to his very doorstep. The waves of conflict surged right up to the very walls of Angora. The town was subjected to a number of audacious attacks, during one of which telephonic and telegraphic communication was destroyed between the National leader's headquarters and the town.

In Smyrna and Anatolia the Greeks ravaged the country.

In Constantinople the Sultan awaited events.

The fighting which proceeded at this period was on tip and run skirmishing.

To cite the instance of Duzje.

Here several hundred Circassians and Abasas suddenly entered the town, broke open the prisons and armed the

prisoners. After a skirmish the National cavalry was disarmed on the spot and subjected to great indignities. Governmental officials were taken prisoner and, amidst the howling of the rabble, were incarcerated in the prison, with their erstwhile inmates raised to the dignity of warders.

National reinforcements were hurriedly dispatched. Lieutenant-Colonel Mahmud Bey left Geiveh to succour Duzje. As soon as he was out of sight Geiveh revolted.

The people of Geiveh left their town and took possession of Ada Bazar.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mahmud Bey was not sure of his direction. He was foolish enough to make inquiries of the local peasantry.

He fell into an ambush and was killed by the first shot which was exchanged.

Surprised by the ambush and the death of their commander, the National troops surrendered before coming into action. Their rifles, equipment and the whole of their baggage was plundered.

It eventually required a considerable force to subdue this district.

At Ismidt there was called together what was popularly known as "the Army of the Caliphate." Embodied in this force, which had orders from the capital to operate against Mustafa Kamal, was a number of officers specially dispatched from Constantinople. A commander of this force was one Subhi Pasha.

Mustafa Kamal had known this officer when they were in Salonika together. Mustafa Kamal then held the rank of major and adjutant.

Subhi Pasha was a brigadier-general of cavalry. He

had studied in Germany and was very proud of hi prowess at riding.

Some manœuvres were ordered, and Subhi Pasha wa in command. Even in those days Mustafa Kamal mus have been precocious, for, notwithstanding the differenc in rank, he published a booklet criticizing the manœuvres

Subhi Pasha said that he was much offended, but i actual fact a strong friendship sprang up between hi and his youthful critic.

Shortly after he had been appointed to the comman at Ismidt, in the curious circumstances which obtaine in those turbulent days, he came face to face with Kam some distance outside Angora.

Mustafa Kamal pushed his way forward to Subh Pasha and exclaimed, "Pasha, why have you accepte command of the Army of the Sultanate?"

Subhi Pasha smiled into his beard and replied, witho a moment's hesitation, "In order to be beaten by you!

What is more, the commander meant what he sai He had accepted the position at Ismidt in order to mak things easier for Kamal.

In actual fact, however, the force was beaten before h assumed command. Eventually the Army of th Caliphate was forced to flee from Ismidt to Constantinopl

In other parts of the country it was well towards th end of the year before the National forces were able t restore anything like order.

Apart from the internal trouble with which Musta Kamal had to contend, there was the situation on th Smyrna front.

When the Greeks extended their area of occupatio they landed at Aivalik. Certain operations were com menced against them on May 28th, 1919. Prior to thi

that they had been allowed a free hand. Actually, in obedience to commands from the capital, some of the inhabitants had organized deputations to welcome the invaders, hoping thereby to placate them.

Gradually, however, the ire of the peasantry was raised and a National force was organized. On June 15th a National force suddenly descended upon the Greeks and inflicted heavy losses. The Greeks deemed it expedient to retire. They abandoned Nasilli and fell back to Aidin, hard pressed.

Thus in the middle of June the Aidin front was established.

By devious means the provisioning of the National forces watching this line was maintained. Reinforcements were gradually concentrated.

Elsewhere, in the district of Adana, National forces had been drawn up immediately in front of the French troops in the country around Mersina. The French were besieged at Bosanti, and skirmishes and fighting took place at Marash, Tarsus and Adana. The French troops were compelled to evacuate these places.

Being continually pressed, in May, 1920, the French commander endeavoured to get into touch with Mustafa Kamal and open negotiations.

A French deputation, led by M. Duquest, who acted in the name of the High Commissioner for Syria, arrived in Angora. Mustafa Kamal agreed to an armistice of twenty days on the Adana front.

During the duration of the armistice Mustafa Kamal prepared for the evacuation of the front.

He was severely criticized for this, but he desired something more than a military victory.

The Grand National Assembly and the Government

he had created had been ignored by the Entente Powers. There had been no question of recognition.

Mustafa Kamal rightly considered it of the utmost importance that the French, disregarding the Government in Constantinople, had entered into direct negotiations with Angora and had come to an agreement.

During the course of the negotiations Mustafa Kamal demanded of the French complete evacuation of the territory which had been seized within Turkey's national boundaries.

The French delegates spoke of the necessity of communicating with Paris. The armistice of twenty days was to give them time to get into touch and to provide themselves with the necessary authority to conclude an agreement.

Actually the agreement with the French was delayed for some considerable time, and Mustafa Kamal during this period was denied the fruits of what would have been an easily won diplomatic victory.

There was still another facet to the continually revolving circumstances of those momentous months.

In the beginning of May, 1920, the telegraph instrument from Constantinople began to function.

The first communications from the capital were rather mysterious.

The first message tapped through merely said, "We have something important to tell you, but we must postpone an exchange of telegrams until to-night."

And then the telegraph instrument was still for seven days.

Eventually it broke into movement once again.

One who had formerly been Governor of Smyrna, and was *persona grata* at the Sublime Porte, sent a telegram

to Angora which suggested that he and a small group of friends were considering how best to bring about a *rapprochement* between Angora and Constantinople.

The nature of the telegrams from the capital suggested that the Sublime Porte was ignorant of the Government which had been formed by Mustafa Kamal, and that it had no knowledge of the creation of a Grand National Assembly.

After a desultory exchange of further telegrams, Mustafa Kamal told those communicating with him in Constantinople that it was useless to hope to come to an agreement by such means, and that a deputation was the only possible course.

It was perhaps significant that these tentative negotiations were opened soon after the National forces had obtained their first successes in the field.

Nothing came of them for some weeks, and then two men appeared in Angora from Constantinople, who assured Mustafa Kamal that they were acting entirely in their private capacity.

They wanted to know his intentions in regard to the Caliphate and Sultanate, what were his views in regard to Bolshevism, and whether he had resolved to carry on a war against the Entente, and especially against England.

Long and bitter discussions ensued over these points, but, in brief, a few sentences of Mustafa Kamal's can be said to summarize the situation.

He declared :

"Our aim is to secure the complete independence of our nation and the integrity of our territory within its national frontiers. We shall fight and conquer every Power, whichever it might be, who would try to block

our way and hinder us from the realization of this aim. We are absolutely firm in our conviction and determination."

These very tentative *pourparlers* with Constantinople did not proceed very far.

There was still one other event of interest to be recorded of this time.

One of the first decisions made by the newly formed Grand National Council was that an embassy be opened in Moscow.

The chief object of this move, which was made in May, 1920, was to establish relations between Russia and Angora.

A certain amount of progress was made. A deputation left Angora for Moscow, and the treaty which Russia was content to sign was practically completed by August of that year. The actual signing of the document, however, which brought into being what was known as the Moscow Treaty, did not take place until March 13th, 1921.

And now, in order to keep pace with the cycle of events, it is necessary to return to the Greek front once again.

General Sir George Milne, commanding the Allied troops, as arranged at the Paris Conference, had demarcated a line from the coast north-east of Aivalik to the south of Soma, to the east of Manissa, to the west of Salihli, to the east of Odemish, to the east and south of Aidin and to the coast again, north of Skalalowa.

Both Turks and Greeks were expected to respect this line.

On June 22nd, 1920, the Greeks began a general offensive along this line. Their force was composed of some six divisions.

The Greeks advanced over a considerable area, and early in July had penetrated as far as the district of Dumlu Punar.

The Nationalist forces, which were badly accoutred and poorly provisioned, suffered heavy losses.

Mustafa Kamal went personally to this front and did what he could in the way of reorganization.

The Greek offensive and the break-up of the Nationalist forces produced a crisis in the Grand National Assembly. There were violent attacks on Mustafa Kamal, and the most severe criticism.

Demands were made for information as to why the commanders in the field had not been summarily court-martialled for their failure and shot.

One Deputy asserted that one commander had taken thirty-six camel-loads of loot with him when the National forces were retiring.

Others declared that the rapidity of the Greek advance and the terrible losses sustained by the Nationalist troops made it evident to the world at large that the much-vaunted defence of Anatolia was nothing more than a phantom.

Mustafa Kamal replied to these attacks as best he could.

He told the Deputies that, in their excitement and in the face of the general disasters, they had forgotten the real causes and factors leading to the defeat.

Attempts, he said, had been made to put the blame for the reverses on the shoulders of the Council of Ministers—a body which had been formed less than two months. Nobody, he declared, seemed to remember the fact that the Greeks had been preparing for their offensive over a period of months; that Constantinople

had done everything in its power to render the National forces defenceless, and that difficulty had been experienced in obtaining a sufficiency of munitions to feed all the various fronts.

The Deputies, he added bitterly, forgot that it was due to the efforts of five or six determined men that in the course of a year there had been built up an organization with which the outside world had to reckon. "You are not possessed of a sufficient sense of justice to recognize that," he exclaimed angrily.

The debate on that occasion developed into a howling tumult.

Referring to the occasion when tempers had cooled somewhat, Mustafa Kamal caustically observed: "Among those who spoke were men whose faith in the nation and whose patriotism were doubtful."

During a secret session of the Grand National Assembly held at this time Mustafa Kamal emphasized the following points:

"To avoid any possible misfortune we must first think of preventive means to meet it. When the misfortune has happened, it is no good to complain. Before it began the Greek offensive was regarded as very probable. If the necessary precautions and measures had not been taken to meet it, the responsibility must not be put on the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and their Government. The Government of Stanboul, together with the whole of the nation, ought to have begun seriously at least a year before to take the steps which the Grand National Assembly had on their part undertaken as soon as they had assumed the responsibility of the Government.

"Calling up troops at the front to suppress the internal

interest was considered to be of greater importance and urgency than arraying them against the Greeks, advisable as that might have been.

"Even to-day this is still the case.

"Possibly the enemy's attack could not have been pushed forward so far if the following troops had been at our disposition at the front: those detachments that we had to take from Brusa; the two columns which had been sent into the disturbed district of Ada Bazar; the column that had been scattered at Hendek—these four bodies of troops and the other that was fighting against the insurgents in the district of Sile and Yeni Han, and those National troops which were supporting all these regular forces.

"Not until rest is secured in the country, and the unity and firmness of the nation and their desire for liberation is established, will it be possible to work with the object of opposing a foreign enemy, and even from such an effort no essential advantage can be expected.

"But if the nation and the country observed an attitude such as I recommend, a success which the enemy might gain at any time, and which might lead to the occupation of a large territory, could only be of a temporary character.

"A nation that asserts and maintains its unity and its will, sooner or later will be able to bring any proud enemy who attacks it to suffer for his presumption.

"For this reason it is surely more important to suppress the upheavals in the country than to fight against the Greek offensive.

"Besides, it was scarcely to be expected that the Greek offensive could have been otherwise, even if those troops which were appointed to oppose it would not have been

withdrawn from the front on account of the trouble in the country.

"For instance, on the northern front the enemy attacked with three divisions; we had no troops there that were of proportionate strength.

"It is not reasonable to make a great fuss and to say that the catastrophe would not have happened if our troops had taken up a position on this or that river, or in this or that village, or if the officers commanding them could have stopped the enemy in his advance.

"There is no instance in history to show that a front has not been or could not be broken through.

"And this is specially the case if the front in question is not limited in proportion to the troops defending it, but is extending over hundreds of kilometres; for it would be a false conclusion to expect that weak troops at one or other point in the line could defend it indefinitely.

"Fronts can be broken through, but it is necessary to fill up the gaps in the line as soon as possible. This is only possible if reserves drawn up in echelon can be held in rear of the forces in the front line.

"But were our National forces facing the Greek army in such a position, and had they such reserves behind them?

"Was even the smallest unit worthy of the name of a fighting force still left in our west Anatolian provinces, including the town and district of Angora, or, more precisely, in the whole of our country?

"It is illogical to expect results from the defence which the population of the villages in the neighbourhood of the fighting zone could offer.

"Even if we possessed the power and the means to bring all the auxiliary forces of the country into open

time would have been required for the establish-
t of a serious military organization. . . .
Was not the flower of our army under the command
kir Sami Bey at Brusa composed of the skeletons
he two regiments that had been surrendered to the
ks before they had fired a shot, and which had been
ported to Mudania on Greek ships?
Had the Government in Stanboul done anything to
ge the moral standard of those troops?
Was not the Government of Stanboul, who previ-
y had out troops that were attempting to defend
kesri against attacks by the Greeks, responsible for
g attacked in the rear by Ansawur?
It must not be forgotten that the Governments of
boul and the Caliph-Sultan employed the Army of
Caliphate and the troops of the rebels on the road
ween Hendek–Duzje for the purpose of poisoning
spirit of our troops, as they had done to the 24th
ision, which later on dispersed and killed their
ers. At the time this comparatively strong division
s destined for the Greek front.
'Was it possible that the Council of Ministers, who
l only just taken the destiny of the country into their
ds, could think of mobilization under the conditions
t prevailed at that time?
'Was it possible or practicable to call the nation under
ns at a moment when the country, from one end to
other, was driven and compelled to carry out the
pulations of the Caliph's Fetwa?
"On the other hand, was it not indispensable, before
lling the whole nation under arms, to think of the
essary quantity of arms, money, ammunition and
nsport to maintain them?

"In examining the situation and calculating the measures to be undertaken, facts, bitter as they might be, must never be lost sight of.

"There is no necessity or compulsion to deceive ourselves or one another. We were well aware of the requirements of the situation and the needs of the men at the front.

"I received a number of telegrams from all directions to this effect: 'Send strong regular troops'; 'Send such and such quantity of ammunition, because if we do not receive it we shall probably be defeated.'

"All these telegrams, sent under the excitement of the moment, represented the situation in similar emotional language.

"Our duty, and the situation we were in, urged us not to destroy the morale of those who appealed to us. We had to guard against allowing ourselves to be influenced by their excitement, but rather to act in a way that would inspire them with hope and confidence

OVERTURES FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

Reverting back to Constantinople once again, we find that the policy of the Sublime Porte to "put an end by force of arms" to the forces of Mustafa Kamal had been eminently unsuccessful.

Instead of being suppressed, Mustafa Kamal had overcome the internal troubles to a very large extent and had brought the Greek offensive to a standstill. Perhaps this latter is an optimistic interpretation of events. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say that the Greeks had extended their line of communications to that point beyond which safety could not be guaranteed, and were content to sit down and await developments.

From the standpoint of political representation, however, Mustafa Kamal was entitled to say that the Greek offensive had been brought to a standstill. After all, it is not for politicians to tell everything. And Mustafa Kamal was emerging from the political sphere. He was fast becoming a statesman.

Mustafa Kamal still being a force, the Constantinople Government made half-hearted overtures.

An officer among the military leaders of the Sultan's palace was furnished with documents and dispatched to Angora.

These documents informed Mustafa Kamal that the Sublime Porte hoped shortly to arrive at a peace under more favourable conditions than had been expected. Smyrna, for example, with the consent of the Greeks,

would come under a special regime under Ottom sovereignty.

Above all, these documents stressed it was impor for Mustafa Kamal to come to an agreement with t Constantinople Government.

News of the attempted *rapprochement* speedily beca known, and there were many who sought to ingrati themselves with the Sublime Porte.

In some instances direct communication was open with the capital, and from some mysterious sour orders were issued for the repair of those telegra lines which had been cut in order to isolate Constantino from much of the rest of the country.

Mustafa Kamal had to issue strict and direct ord forbidding communication with the Sublime Porte. I ordered the arrest of any who attempted to repair t telegraph lines.

Mustafa Kamal suggested to Constantinople that deputation of Ministers be sent to Biledshik so that t subject of an agreement could be discussed.

Constantinople agreed, and Salih Shah, Minister Marine, and Izzet Pasha, Minister of the Interior, set c accompanied by a coterie of legal advisers and others.

The meeting took place in the small railway waiti room at Biledshik station, and it was interesting beca this was the first time that the forces of the Sublii Porte and of Angora had really clashed in a perso sense.

Mustafa Kamal introduced himself as "The Presid of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and t Government."

"With whom," he asked, "have I the honour speaking?"

Salih Shah explained that he was Minister of Marine.
Izzet Pasha said that he was Minister of the Interior.
Mustafa Kamal looked on coldly for a moment, and then informed the rather crestfallen Ministers, both of whom were, of course, personally known to him, that he recognized neither the Government of Stanboul nor themselves as members of such a Government.
Moreover, he intimated that he had no desire to carry on the conversations if they insisted on appearing at the interview in what they regarded as their official capacities.
An exchange of opinions nevertheless proceeded, both sides by mutual consent leaving alone the question of credentials.
Mustafa Kamal allowed some of the Deputies who had accompanied him from Angora to take part in certain phases of the conversations, which proceeded for several hours. It soon became evident to him, however, that the deputation had no fixed orders and no fixed ideas of their own.
In the end he informed the deputation that he could not allow it to return immediately to the capital, and that it must accompany him to Angora.
The two Ministers demurred, but they were carried off to the train by force.
Mustafa Kamal did not think it advisable publicly to make this fact known. He was anxious to preserve the dignity of both Izzet Pasha and Salih Pasha, because he was aware that they and he had many ideas in common, and that eventually he might be able to make good use of them within the National structure.
He therefore spread the news that the persons in question had left Stanboul with the object of getting into

touch with the Grand National Assembly, and that they had consented to proceed to Angora so that they might the more effectively carry on their task.

While the Sublime Porte's deputation was at Angora everything possible was done to interest them.

Mustafa Kamal was able to read them dispatches from the Greek front which indicated that the Greek forces had suffered heavy losses, and that various bands of free-booters who had been preying on the countryside elsewhere had been finally routed.

Izzet Pasha and Salih Pasha, however, were critical of the entertainment that was offered. It is not too much to say that they developed an acute home-sickness.

Ten days after the arrival of the Ministers in Angora a telegram was received from the capital which displayed a certain apprehension as to their fate. It spoke of the lack of news from them.

Two days later another telegram trickled through, the burden of which was the same.

The Grand Vizier came to the conclusion that the Ministerial deputation had gone over to the Nationalist forces. He hurriedly prepared lists of names from which to submit to the Sultan suitable candidates for the offices of Minister of Marine and Minister of the Interior.

A week later the Director of Telegraphs in the capital informed Mustafa Kamal that the Grand Vizier was anxious that Kamal should go personally to the telegraph instrument, in order that they might converse "on an important question which related to the higher interests of the country."

In the reply which he dispatched Mustafa Kamal made it clear that he could not enter into negotiations with Tewfik Pasha (the Grand Vizier) or anyone else in

nboul, without first having obtained the consent of Council of Ministers and, perhaps, even of the mbly.

l, however, he added, Tewfik Pasha desired to open otiations with the Government of the Grand National mbly of Turkey, no obstacle would be placed in his , provided that he used the proper channels.

A day later (January 27th, 1921) a telegram was ived from the Grand Vizier addressed to "His llency Mustafa Kamal Pasha, President of the Grand tional Assembly of Turkey."

I give the full address and designation, because this icated a certain change of front on the part of the inet of the Sublime Porte.

This telegram read :

"In virtue of the resolutions arrived at by the Council mbled in Paris, a conference is to be held in London February 21st, in which the delegates of the Allied wers as well as those of the Ottoman and Greek vernments will take part, and the object of which will to consider a solution of the Eastern question.

"It is believed that current events will necessitate ications being made in the existing Treaty.

"The collaboration of the Imperial Government is de dependent upon Mustafa Kamal Pasha and all the her delegates from Angora, provided with the necessary l powers, being members of the Ottoman delegation.

"These resolutions have been made known through Allied representatives in Stanboul.

"I await your decision and reply, in order that the sons whom you will choose will meet those we shall ther together, so that all may leave together.

"In view of the special importance of this request, I

request you to give orders that the telegraph lines shall be kept free for communications on this subject.

"I am awaiting your answer at the telegraph instrument in the hope that it will be possible for you to reply at once."

It must have cost the Grand Vizier much in personal pride and dignity to have dispatched such a message.

The communication from the Allied Powers of the extreme desirability of including the representatives of Angora in the Turkish peace delegation greatly shocked the Sublime Porte, which until that moment had maintained the attitude that Mustafa Kamal was a rebel against the State and a person who must be removed from his sphere at any cost.

To Mustafa Kamal, of course, the telegram gave a definite indication that he was now a person of some consequence and no little power.

This impression was heightened a few minutes after the foregoing telegram had been put in his hand.

While waiting beside the telegraph instrument in the capital, the Grand Vizier improved the occasion by dispatching another message to Angora. This read:

"We have just this moment heard from a reliable source that the Greeks, in order to obtain more influence at the London Conference, are sending an army corps to Smyrna, and that they are moving the troops they have in Thrace to Anatolia. It is expected that they will begin their attack in about ten days."

To the first telegram Mustafa Kamal dispatched the following reply:

"The only lawful and independent sovereign power which is based on the national will, and which governs the fate of Turkey, is the Grand National Assembly

ich is permanently sitting in council at Angora. It the government of this Assembly alone which is thorized to settle all questions relating to Turkey, and it alone every appeal must be made on questions that ate in any way to foreign countries.

"No other body existing in Stanboul has any lawful d legitimate authority.

"Consequently the fact that such a body calls itself a vernment is in clear contradiction to the sovereign hts of the nation; and it is not entitled to make use the expression 'Government' in respect to itself in dings with foreign countries, and claiming to be an thority that must be appealed to on questions that ncern the life of the country and of the nation.

"The duty which your body has to fulfil, and which nscience and patriotism dictate, is to accept and to nclaim, according to the actual condition of affairs, at the lawful Government of the nation and the untry, to whom everybody must appeal, is at Angora.

"Although there is no doubt that the Entente Powers e perfectly clear about the fact that the government ssessing the lawful power in the name of our nation d our country is at Angora, the hesitancy which these owers show in proclaiming their point of view on this estion is due to their belief that it would be better for em if there were a mediatory body in Stanboul.

"The Government of the Grand National Assembly f Turkey have repeatedly declared that they are earnestly nd sincerely desirous of peace; they have formulated eir conditions, which consist in demanding the recog-ition of their national rights, and have declared them-selves ready, if these rights are recognized, to enter into negotiations which would be proposed to them.

"If the Entente Powers have resolved to settle the Eastern question on principles of right and justice, the conference which they are going to hold in London they must address their invitation to it to the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

"We declare once more that an invitation proffered under the above-mentioned conditions will be favourably accepted by the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey."

In response to the second telegram Mustafa Kamal sent the following:

"We are convinced that a special opportunity of historical importance is offered, as a prominent statesman, to Your Highness, who, throughout your life has always rendered invaluable services to this country and this nation, to complete and crown all the services you have hitherto rendered.

"For our part, we are desirous to proceed in perfect unity.

"We are convinced that you will have a proper judgment about the inconveniences which would arise if the country were to be represented by two delegations at the Conference, to which we have been indirectly invited.

"The efforts which the nation has made for the sole purpose of obtaining its sovereign rights, the blood that has been willingly shed, the resistance and firmness it has shown in all the difficulties of an internal and external description, are responsible for the new situation which we have to face to-day.

"On the other hand, the events in the world are taking such a shape that our independence, which is the aim we have put before us in the steadfastness of our resistance, will be secured.

"While we are preparing ourselves to defend our national rights before the governments who want to condemn us to slavery and annihilation, it is imperatively necessary that all the material and moral forces of the country should act in perfect concord.

"It is therefore necessary that His Majesty should officially declare that he recognizes the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which is the only body in this country able to express the national will.

"In this way the abnormal situation prevailing in Stanboul, the fatal experiences of which have proved that it has continually done harm to the country—harm that has existed for such a long time, to the great advantage of foreigners—would come to an end.

"It becomes evident from the communication from the representatives of the Entente Powers that the participation of delegates from Stanboul is only possible if there are such among them who are appointed by the Government at Angora, and who have been furnished by them with full powers.

"Thereby the Entente Powers have recognized in a sufficiently clear way that the delegates who will negotiate for peace in the name of Turkey can be appointed solely by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

"In virtue of our full powers and in the name of the duty which we have undertaken before history and on behalf of the nation, we propose to you that you alter and clear up the position by joining us and accepting the principles which have been advanced by us and proclaimed by the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which is the only actual and justly lawful government in the country.

"By doing this you will facilitate the recognition of

these principles by our enemies, and thus hasten the happy end of all our struggles.

"If the sincere proposals which we are making with the object of our working together and of defending our national aims with our united strength should not be accepted and adopted, fear must be felt that the position of His Majesty, the occupant of the throne of the Sultan and the dignity of the Caliphate, may run the risk of being shaken. And we declare now, in our capacity as the Government who have been endowed with all real and lawful power which the situation has confided in them, that the responsibility for such a catastrophe, with all its incalculable consequences, will fall directly on His Majesty.

"Taking all this into consideration, we are firmly convinced that Your Highness will perform the duty of historical importance which your conscience imposes upon you, and that you will definitely and clearly inform us of the result."

Mustafa Kamal was convinced that the success of all his plans, with which of course were bound up those for the salvation of Turkey, depended upon removing from office the Government in Stanboul.

He realized that the principal person standing in the way of such an attainment was the Sultan himself, who relied for his entire strength upon those who flocked to his palace.

Obviously the first essential step was to induce the Sultan to give formal recognition to the Grand National Assembly.

As the Caliph was not in direct communication with anyone except his Grand Vizier, Mustafa Kamal perforce had to address yet another telegram to Tewfik Pasha. This was in the following terms:

"His Majesty will proclaim in a short Imperial decree
at he recognizes the Grand National Assembly.
"This decree will set forth that His Majesty has recog-
ed the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which
s acknowledged the principle of the integrity of the
liphate and the Monarchy, in its present form and
aracter and with its present rights. To add the details
d the developments which the case might require
ould cause confusion at this juncture.
"His Majesty will remain at Stanboul as heretofore.
"The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, possessing
thority and responsibility, which is protected against
y kind of attack and which combines all the qualifica-
ns necessary for their independence, will, together
th the Government, remain at Angora.
"Naturally, any body functioning under the name of
e Government at Stanboul will cease to exist.
"Taking into consideration the peculiar position of
nboul, there will be a delegation of the Grand National
uncil with His Majesty, which will be provided with
ll powers and entrusted with certain duties.
"Later on, means will be found to provide for the
ganization of an administration of the town and
strict of the capital.
"As soon as the above conditions have been accepted
d carried out the Government will guarantee and
nage for the payments connected with the Civil Lists
d the emoluments of His Majesty, the Imperial dynasty
d all the officials and other persons who have claims
salaries and pensions.
"The budget passed by the Grand National Assembly
eady provides for this expenditure.
"Our exchequer enables us to cover these payments."

Mustafa Kamal had thrown down the glove. He had delivered his ultimatum to the Sublime Porte, and in circumstances where his demands could hardly be ignored.

He had waited long for this moment. Now it had come.

Placed in a quandary by the ultimatum from the leader of the Nationalist forces at Angora, Tewfik Pasha, the Grand Vizier in Constantinople, could only fight for time.

To Mustafa Kamal's lengthy telegram he replied:

"I have received your telegrams. I shall summon the Council to meet to-morrow, and at six o'clock I shall inform you of the decisions at which it has arrived."

Tewfik Pasha called the Council together. It was not a very happy meeting, but the rest of the Cabinet agreed with the Grand Vizier that, in view of the attitude of the Allies, an attempt should be made to temporise. Words, they decided, should as far as was possible cloud the issue raised by Angora.

It was decided to dispatch the following telegram to Mustafa Kamal:

"In reply to your telegrams, the present Government, who have for a long time recognized the necessity of a union between Constantinople and Anatolia, have assumed power with the view to secure such unity, and have made all efforts to that effect.

"We are convinced that the endeavours which you have made in this direction, namely, to safeguard the sovereign rights of the nation, as well as the sacrifices you have made in human blood, have contributed in a large measure to bring about the satisfactory state of affairs which now prevails.

"Consequently we are prepared to accept proposals which are for the benefit of the nation.

"In respect to this, I inform you in what follows of our point of view concerning the matter you have brought to our knowledge.

"The fact that you have been indirectly invited to attend the Conference is evident, for the representatives of the Entente Powers are here.

"For this reason it appears to be quite natural that communication should be established with the Government which is in Constantinople, and which is endeavouring to work in harmony with you.

"The fact that the European Powers, who have hitherto not felt themselves called upon to recognize Anatolia, especially request the presence of delegates from Anatolia at the Conference is a matter that can give you satisfaction.

"Consequently it would not be necessary, regarding the task which you have taken upon yourself on behalf of the nation, to raise the question of form, while taking advantage of this favourable change.

"On the other hand, our delegates will not constitute two delegations when we have shown that we are united, but only one.

"We need not fear any inconvenience about this because the language which we shall use will be in conformity with the principles that have been adopted.

"Our duties towards the State and the nation, therefore, imperatively demand that we should derive the greatest advantage from the fact that a hand is held out to us at this historic moment.

"Will you be good enough to recognize that your absence would completely tie our hands with regard to

Greek claims, and that our country would remain—
o can say for how long?—a theatre of the horrors
sufferings of war?

"The fact alone that we formulate our claims before
Conference, that we publish the name of our pleni-
tentiary throughout Europe, would not be injurious
us even if the Conference should not lead to satis-
factory results.

"The patriotism of Your Excellency and of your
Leagues is a guarantee that this opportunity will not
missed.

"As it is natural that the resolutions adopted by former
binets will be annulled—resolutions which have had
results for both parties—there is no longer any ground
dissension between us.

"If the executive power should be suppressed here,
fact that Constantinople is dominated by the Occupa-
on would result in the Entente Powers taking the
ministration of all governmental affairs entirely into
eir own hands and carrying out the stipulations of the
eaty concerning Constantinople.

"On the other hand, the fact that Greek troops are
the present moment in Constantinople, and the
rrounding territory, makes these proposals im-
acticable.

"I do not even consider it necessary to confirm that
e desire of maintaining power is not important in these
rcumstances for our Council of Ministers.

"The question that must be settled as quickly as
ossible is the sending of our delegates to the Con-
rence, the date of which is approaching.

"The Greeks will also take part in this Conference,
ven if we are not represented there ourselves. If that

should happen we would lay ourselves open to a kind of judgment by default being pronounced against us which would mean placing our case in jeopardy.

"Therefore I maintain that we should not accept the responsibility for this, and, as it is essential to our interests to arrive at this Conference before the appointed date, I beg you to send your delegates here as quickly as possible."

Mustafa Kamal's comment as he read this telegram was cynical.

"They say," he exclaimed, "that they have been working for unity between Stanboul and Anatolia. And they have been fighting against us! They would have had us subservient."

Mustafa Kamal sent a speedy reply to the Grand Vizier. He said:

"I am certain that in the telegrams which I have sent I had explained clearly and implicitly to Your Highness all the conditions the carrying out of which would be absolutely indispensable.

"From your last telegram, however, I observe that you have not yet arrived at the state of contemplating the situation with the necessary distinctness and practical knowledge. The importance of the situation and the difficulty of the moment impose upon us the duty of explaining the question once more, and of enlightening Your Highness, your honourable colleagues and, above all, His Majesty on every detail.

"To help you to deduce from your considerations and judgment some appropriate results with great ease, I will point out to you, verbatim, the fundamental provision of the Act of Constitution."

In his telegram Mustafa Kamal set out the Act of

constitution in full as had been passed by the Grand National Assembly.

Briefly, this measure, which had been hurriedly passed by the Assembly ten days before, set forth the following :

The sovereignty belongs to the nation, without restriction and without conditions. The system of administration is founded on the principle that the people are actually and individually guiding their own destiny.

The executive power and the legislative power are united in the Grand National Assembly and find their expression in it ; it is the only real representation of the nation.

The Turkish State is governed by the Grand National Assembly, and its Government bears the name of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

The Grand National Assembly consists of members elected by the population of the vilayets.

The elections for the Grand National Assembly take place every two years. The mandate of the elected members lasts for two years, but this period may be extended. The retiring Assembly exercises its functions until the new Assembly meets. If anything occurs to prevent the new elections taking place, the legislative term may be prolonged for one year. Each member of the Grand National Assembly is not the special representative of the province which has elected him. The combined body of Deputies constitutes the representation of the whole nation.

The Grand National Assembly meets in the beginning of November in a full sitting without being specially convened for the purpose.

Fundamental rights, such as the execution of decisions

regarding religion, the promulgation of all the laws, their amendment and repeal, the conclusion of peace and the signing of treaties, the proclamation of a state of defence in our country, are all vested in the Grand National Assembly.

Provisions concerning religious rights and those legal provisions that conform most appropriately to the relations between private individuals or to the exigencies of the time, as well as customary usage, constitute the basis upon which the laws and stipulations are drafted. The rights and responsibilities of the Council of Ministers are defined by special enactments.

The Grand National Assembly administers the different departments of the Government by Ministers elected according to a special law. The necessary lines of direction, which may be altered if it should become necessary, for the affairs of the executive power, are indicated to the Ministers by the Assembly.

The President, elected by the Grand National Assembly in a full sitting, is President of the Assembly for the duration of the legislative term. In this capacity he is competent to sign on behalf of the Assembly and to sanction the resolutions of the Council of Ministers.

Mustafa Kamal concluded his telegram:

"The provisions of the Constitution which are not in contradiction to the above clauses still remain in force. I call Your Highness's attention specially to the fact that it is impossible for us to act in a manner that is contrary to the fundamental provisions I have just quoted, for we have no authority to do so. The Council of Ministers has been authorized to consider the question referred to in correspondence with the President of the Assembly."

The Act, of which I have given but a brief outline, was the first Act to be passed by the Grand National Assembly, concretely to define the constitutional position as it affected Angora and the country as a whole.

The Assembly commenced its sittings on April 23rd, 1920, and nine months elapsed before the Assembly passed this fundamental piece of constitutional machinery.

The delay was brought about by a number of considerations.

After the opening of the Assembly Mustafa Kamal introduced a motion explaining the fundamental principles which, in his opinion, should be observed by the newly elected body.

The Assembly and its Council of Ministers, from the day of inception, began gradually to adopt these principles.

A committee which had been appointed to draft the Bill of Constitution based its work upon these principles, some of which were amended in form as time and practice warranted. After four months' work the committee submitted a draft Bill.

Discussion of the Bill began on August 18th, and it aroused great controversy.

The main question over which there was discord was the question of the permanency or otherwise of the Angora Government.

This impinged directly upon the position of the Sultan.

In September the Assembly was still debating its attitude with regard to the monarchy.

It was then that Mustafa Kamal, to a degree, opened his heart.

For the first time he gave the Nationalists an inkling of what was really in his mind.

He called a secret session of the Assembly. He la it down that not a word of what transpired should g beyond the four walls of the Chamber.

It is as well here to use the exact words used by Musta Kamal:

"It is not necessary," he said, "that the Turki nation and the High Assembly should occupy themselv so minutely with the Caliphate and the monarchy, wi the Caliph and the Sultan, while we are struggling secure the existence and the independence of our countr

"Our higher interests demand that we should n discuss this at all at the present moment.

"If the question should arise as to whether we oug to remain loyal and true to the present Caliph and Sulta —well, this man is a traitor, he is a tool of the enem employed against our country and our nation.

"If the nation considers him in the light of Calip and Sultan it will be obliged to obey his orders, a thereby realize the enemy's plans and designs.

"Moreover, a personage who would be a traito and could be prevented from exercising his authori and making use of the power bestowed upon him by h position could not hold the exalted title of Caliph Sultan.

"If you want to say, 'Let us depose him and choo someone else in his place,' this would lead to no w out of the difficulty, because the present state of affai and the conditions prevailing at this hour would n allow of it being done.

"For the person who must be dethroned is not the midst of his nation, but in the hands of the enem and if we intend to ignore his existence and recogni someone in his stead, the present Caliph and Sulta

uld not surrender his rights, but would retain the
the occupies to-day with his Ministry in Stanboul,
would continue to carry on his office.

'Will the nation and the High Assembly, in such an
nt, abandon their high aims and throw themselves
a fight for the Caliph?

'Shall we, then, once more witness the times of Ali
Maawiah?

'In short, this question is of far-reaching importance
difficulty. Its solution is not one which we are
ggling to discover to-day.

'If we could undertake the task of finally settling this
blem, we would not succeed in this at the present
ment; but the hour for that will come later.

'The legal foundations that we want to lay to-day
establish and guarantee the necessary authority for
purpose of strengthening the National Assembly
the National Government, which will save our
stence and secure our independence."

These revelations by their leader shocked many in the
embly, and wranglings proceeded for another four
nths.

But for the pressure of circumstances and the fact
t events were such that Mustafa Kamal was able to
e the hands of the Deputies, this dissension would have
ceeded indefinitely.

n reply to Mustafa Kamal's telegram detailing the
ition as reflected by the Act of Constitution, the
and Vizier returned again to the question of unity and
e more emphasized its importance.

Mustafa Kamal, before continuing with an exchange
views, enlisted the assistance of Izzet Pasha, still a
tual prisoner in Angora, but one whom he imagined

was rapidly absorbing much of the atmosphere of his surroundings.

He induced this Minister to telegraph the Grand Vizier in the following terms :

" We have been made aware of the open correspondence which has been carried on between the President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Your Highness regarding the Conference which is to take place in London at the end of February.

" Although we scarcely consider ourselves justified to express an opinion after the failure of our mission, our patriotic feelings impel us to give you a picture of the present situation and the views that are current here.

" It is considered natural that the occupation of Stanboul renders it impossible for the Government there to safeguard the vital interests of the nation. Dreading that it will pave the way for discord later on between Anatolia and Stanboul, the idea of two separate delegations taking part in the Conference is not favourably considered here.

" His Excellency Mustafa Kamal Pasha himself had no authority to depart from the opinions he has expressed in his telegrams. With God's help the upheavals in Anatolia and the activities of the rebel bands have been suppressed. A strong army and a strong Government have been organized here.

" Sentiments of loyalty towards your person move me to urge you to act in a way that will not result in failure of the negotiations which may induce Europe to alter the Treaty of Sevres in our favour.

" A discussion on certain details and formal questions is feasible, provided that the fundamental conditions

remains intact, viz., that His Majesty recognizes the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

"I beg you to keep me well informed, so that we shall be able to make the best of this opportunity."

The Grand Vizier replied on the following day (January 31st, 1921).

He said:

"The question must arise as to what point we can bring into agreement within the clear wording of the law.

"If we should act in a manner contrary to the law it would result in our presence at the Conference being refused, and the Ottoman sovereignty over Constantinople would be immediately abolished. No further resistance could be offered to the claims of the Greeks which might even be regarded as just.

"It is evident from the telegrams that one aspect of the question has not been clearly understood. What suggests the idea that two delegations will be sent to the Conference? As the object before us is the same, if complete unity prevails, a delegation consisting of Deputies appointed by Angora, which would leave at the same time with those sent by the Government that is recognized by the Entente Powers, would be a united delegation comprising a single body endowed with the necessary full powers.

"They will be able to defend the national cause unanimously and without fear.

"The fact that you ask us to induce the Entente Powers to recognize the delegates shows that you also have a just appreciation of this necessity.

"The Note sent by the Entente Powers shows quite clearly that approval will not be extended to a delega-

tion from Angora proceeding on its own. The Angor delegates will only be recognized if they are accompanie by delegates from the Sublime Porte.

"If you insist on this dual representation it is mo than likely that no delegation at all, representing o party or the other, will be admitted.

"On the other hand, it is probable that the Constan nople delegates alone will be admitted, and those fro Anatolia, if they go as a separate body, will be exclude

"Such a division of our forces would result in hea sacrifices, because the friends of the Greeks are in t majority at the Conference. Moreover, we should b putting ourselves in the wrong and our enemies in th right.

"If we were to send a united delegation—even shoul our demands not be accepted—we should be in th position of not having turned general opinion against us We might even succeed in winning over to our side goodly number of those who are now somewhat again us.

"Time is pressing and we have no time to lose i carrying on further correspondence.

"The interests of the nation and of the countr require that the delegates should leave immediately.

"It is also necessary that Your Excellency and you honourable colleagues (this telegram was addressed t Tewfik Pasha) should return from Angora, because we are convinced that the time has arrived when we should make use of the personal experiences which you have gained, and of your opinions regarding the conditions prevailing in Anatolia."

The Grand Vizier followed up this communication with a number of others. In one he said:

". . . Although there is noticeable a changed attitude ;ards the Greeks among the Entente Powers since the turn of King Constantine to Athens, there are still ;ny who wholeheartedly support the Greeks and ;stinately maintain that Turkey, by the terms of the reaty of Sevres, must be, to all intents and purposes, nihilated.

"According to reliable information which we have ceived, the invitation which has been extended to ngora to send representatives to the Conference in ndon is something in the nature of a ruse. The liticians who were behind this change of front—and re we have to contend with the wily Lloyd George—e convinced that Anatolia will not accept the invitation.

"It is their intention to turn this refusal into a pretext r imposing further coercive measures.

"For this reason alone it is imperatively necessary at we should go to the Conference immediately and nitedly work in harmony for the recognition of our ghts.

"If we discover that our just and legitimate claims are) be rejected, and if it should be necessary for us to ave the Conference, this fact will not and cannot be sed as a weapon against us by our enemies.

"It is impossible for us to accept the demands ex-ssed in your telegrams, chiefly for the above-men-oned reasons. Also, of course, there are the special onditions prevailing in Constantinople.

"By obstinately insisting on this question you will ause us to miss the opportunity of taking part in the Conference in good time.

"The following serious consequences might then nsue:

Constantinople and the Straits would be lost to Ottoman sovereignty.

The Entente Powers would assuredly support Greece financially, and the Greeks would commence a united offensive against Anatolia. The Turks thereby would once again be exposed to the horrors of war.

Turkey, at the price of great sacrifices, would be compelled to supplicate for foreign aid. She would surrender her independence thereby.

"It is absolutely necessary that the delegates leave for Constantinople at once."

On February 5th the Grand Vizier dispatched still another telegram to Mustafa Kamal.

In this he declared that the Greeks were very annoyed because of the nature of the Entente's invitation to Turkey to attend the Peace Conference in London. They had, he added, increased their propaganda against Turkey.

"The Greeks," said Tewfik Pasha, "according to information we have received from our representatives in Paris, are busily engaged in spreading the rumour that there is a German military mission in Anatolia, and that your actions are inspired by the activities of this mission.

"The Greeks, of course, are spreading these lies in the hope of turning French public opinion against us.

"From the same source in Paris we learn that the Pope has been informed that terrible massacres of the Christian populations have occurred, and that the Pope has appealed to the Parliament of every country to demand the protection of Christians.

"I urge and advise you immediately to contradict

these rumours, which can only produce a very bad impression."

On February 8th a further telegram was sent.

In this the Grand Vizier said that he had learned from reliable source that the Greek offensive against Anatolia would commence on February 21st. The Greeks, he explained, had a force of about 70,000 or 80,000 men. The offensive was to be made with the object of influencing the Peace Conference."

Mustafa Kamal's reactions to these various telegrams were typical of the man.

He regarded the information concerning the forthcoming Greek offensive very much in the nature of a threat designed to force his hand.

Much of the other information he accepted as being in keeping with an affrighted administration in the capital.

"The Grand Vizier," he remarked after reading one of the missives, "is like a phonograph. He repeats all that he hears."

Eventually Mustafa Kamal brought forward the proposals from Constantinople before the Grand National Assembly.

He put forward two expedients to that body.

The first was that they should inform Stanboul immediately and definitely as to the conditions which Anatolia imposed and the intentions of the Angora Government.

The other was that they should dispatch an independent mission to London, in case Angora should be specially invited to do so.

The Assembly adopted not one, but both proposals.

This being the case, Mustafa Kamal once again resorted to that hard-worked instrument the telegraph.

He informed the Grand Vizier that the entire correspondence had been read before the Grand National Assembly. He proceeded:

"The considerations advanced by you have shown, to our great regret, that you are far from having a clear perception of the present situation in Turkey.

"Since the Armistice two Governments have followed one another at Stanboul.

"The first was dominated by the idea of peace at any price, even to that of most abject subjection. The partisans of this school of thought have enlisted the services of all the ungrateful sons of our country who were capable of any kind of baseness and treachery. They have armed themselves and have continually attacked the patriots who had dedicated themselves heart and soul to the defence of the nation.

"For many a month Angora has had to fight against false Fetwas which were spread abroad in the sacred name of religion. It also had to fight against the poisonous forces of intrigue and corruption, of a material and moral description, which were employed against those who had the independence of the country firmly in their hearts.

"The enemies of Anatolia have been overwhelmed with honours.

"Men working in the name of the Stanboul Government have actually worked for the enemy and in the enemy's ranks.

"The second Government, which has your person at its head, now declares itself to be on the side of those who struggle for the defence of Anatolia.

"Yet the statesmen and dignitaries who are members of this Government have accepted the decree of slavery presented to them by the Entente Powers with ex-

pressions of esteem. Moreover, they have signed this pact. To-day they are nothing but a discarded authority, no longer wielding any power in the country.

"It is evidently not realized that Stanboul and Angora have become two separate parties, one representing slavery, and the other independence.

"We desire to incorporate that part of the country which has lost its free right of determination, and which has been subjugated, with the free part.

"The statesmen in Stanboul wish to incorporate the free part, which constitutes the majority and which is resolved resolutely and gloriously to defend itself against a world of enemies, with that part which is subjugated and enslaved.

"In virtue of the Constitution Act passed by the Assembly the sovereignty belongs to the nation unreservedly and unconditionally. The legislative and executive power is comprised in the Grand National Assembly.

"In consideration of these principles, it is not possible for our delegation to proceed to Stanboul, there to be absorbed in a delegation formed there. . . .

"You should recognize that the only delegation that can represent the country will be the delegation of our Assembly, which lawfully, and actually, possesses complete independence, which governs the country through its administrative organization and whose armies, by beating back the enemy in the East and in the West, are paving the way to peace."

In accordance with the decision of the Assembly, a separate delegation to the Peace Conference was formed under the presidency of Bekir Sami Bey, the Nationalist Foreign Minister.

Although it was intended that this delegation should not take part in the Conference unless it was expressly invited to do so, in order to be on the safe side and to prepare for eventualities, it left for Rome via Adalia.

Later the delegation was informed that a special invitation had been extended. Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, conveyed this information. The delegation thereupon departed for London.

The London Conference lasted from February 23rd to March 12th, 1921.

It did not produce any conclusive result as far as Turkey was concerned.

The Entente Powers desired that Turkey should accept the result of an inquiry which they proposed to make regarding the population of Smyrna and Thrace.

When this was first proposed the Angora delegation agreed to the principle.

A strongly worded hint came from Angora, and the delegation then shifted its ground. It proposed that the inquiry should be made dependent upon the abolition of the Greek administration in those areas.

The Greeks, for their part, refused to accept an inquiry.

The Entente Powers thereupon presented to both—both Turks and Greeks—a draft which contained certain suggestions. They were asked to provide the Entente Powers, as speedily as possible, with the replies which they would receive from their Governments to these proposals.

These proposals, as far as they applied to Turkey, contained the following points:

There would be a small increase in the numbers of Turkish troops and gendarmerie.

ere would be a slight decrease in the number of
n officers who were to remain in Turkey.
ere would be a slight reduction in the Straits zone.
nts were thrown out that further alterations in the
y of Sèvres might be forthcoming regarding
ulations, judicial affairs, foreign affairs, postal matters
Kurdistan.
cording to this draft the delineation of the frontiers
rmenia was to be entrusted to a commission ap-
ed by the League of Nations. A special administra-
was to be established in the district of Smyrna.
province of Smyrna was nominally to be restored
urkey, but Greek troops would remain in the town
myrna.
der in the Sanjak was to be maintained by Allied
als. It was laid down that the gendarmerie in the
k was to be composed of different elements, re-
ed in proportion to the strengths of the local popula-

Christian Governor was to be appointed to the
nce of Smyrna, which was to pay an annual tribute
urkey.
ithout waiting for consideration of these terms, the
ks opened an offensive as had been planned, utilizing
maximum forces on all fronts.

THE GREEK OFFENSIVE

Much of the Greek army was concentrated at Brusa and to the east of that town. Other forces were at Ushak.

The main Nationalist forces were at Eski-Shehr and at Dumlu Punar.

In addition, the Greeks had a division at Ismidt.

On March 23rd portions of the Greek forces at Brusa and Ushak began to advance. The Angora forces decided to accept battle in the position at Inongu. The necessary dispositions and preparations were made.

On the evening of March 26th the Greeks approached the advanced position taken up by Ismet Pasha, the Nationalist Commander-in-Chief. The next day the two forces were in touch all along an extensive line. On the 28th the Greeks commenced an attack on the Turkish right. The next day they attacked both flanks. They gained important successes. On March 30th there was violent and general fighting, in which the Greeks gained a striking victory.

On the next day Ismet Pasha counter-attacked. The battle proceeded throughout the day and into the night. The Greeks eventually broke off the engagement and retired.

This victory was hailed with great jubilation throughout Turkey.

Hearing of the defeat of their forces at Inongu, the Greeks at Ushak began to retire. As many Turkish forces as could be detached from the Brusa front were hurriedly sent to this district.

Owing to circumstances which are difficult to explain—if indeed there is any explanation—Refet Pasha, commanding on the Ushak front, allowed the Greek forces to slip away. One Greek regiment was detached to hold up his advance. It did its work so well that the main Greek army was enabled to retire to a position where reinforcements comprising two divisions were awaiting it.

Refet Pasha had at his disposal a total of eight divisions. There were also two divisions of cavalry proceeding towards him. This cavalry force, however, had been led astray and had embarked on long detours.

When Refet Pasha discovered the true strength of the small force opposing him, he broke through and fell upon the main Greek rear. But he was too late. The Greeks were enabled to take up the position prepared by the reinforcing two divisions. They then turned on Refet Pasha and smote him. The Turks suffered very heavy losses.

Refet Pasha was in the way of being an optimist.

Before the main engagement, and while the Greeks were retiring before him, he came to the conclusion that he had won a great battle. Galloping to the field telegraph he informed Mustafa Kamal of as much. He did not mince his phrases. He declared that after five days of glorious fighting he had given the Greeks their death blow.

Mustafa Kamal hastened to send the commander praise and congratulations, but from inquiries he made personally of Refet Pasha through the medium of the ubiquitous telegraph instrument he began to entertain doubts as to whether the position was really such as had been described in the first telegram of jubilation.

Eventually Mustafa Kamal discovered that the enemy had taken up a strong position which commanded the surrounding country, and one which was easily defended. He came, rightly, to the conclusion that if he were to proffer congratulations he should dispatch them, not to Refet Pasha, but to the Greeks.

Actually, as an outcome of this engagement, Refet Pasha was himself forced to retire.

Angora, which had hurriedly paraded its bunting when the first news of the alleged victory arrived, dolefully withdrew the outward evidences of its misguided elation. It decided that Refet Pasha was too prone to look on the sunny side to be a successful commander and lost no time in declaring that he had lost the confidence of the nation.

In order to examine the position on the spot, Fewsi Pasha and Ismet Pasha started for Refet Pasha's head-quarters.

It was decided for the moment not to recall Refet Pasha, because of the possible reactions to such a course. The position was such, however, that Mustafa Kamal considered it expedient to visit the front personally.

There Mustafa Kamal appointed Fewsi Pasha to the supreme command and, as a consolation, offered Refet Pasha the post of Minister of Defence. Refet Pasha, however, wanted a military appointment. He modestly suggested that of Chief of the General Staff.

Mustafa Kamal made it clear that the position of Chief of the General Staff was, according to the Nationalist organization, tantamount to that of Commander-in-Chief. He bluntly told Refet Pasha that he did not think that he possessed the necessary qualifications for such a post.

Refet Pasha solved the situation by asking for long leave, and he retired for a time to his native forests of Kastamuni.

Actually, at a much later date, Refet Pasha did occupy the position of Minister of National Defence.

This digression on events concerning the Greek front was necessary in order to give an indication of the atmosphere which prevailed when the Nationalist Peace Delegation returned from London.

The London Conference had been inconclusive.

Before leaving, the Foreign Minister, Bekir Sami Bey, who had been at the head of the Nationalist delegation, entered, on his own consent, into conversations with the representatives of England, Italy and France, and had signed a number of agreements with them.

According to one of these agreements entered into by the Foreign Minister, the Nationalists were to release all the British prisoners of war who were in their hands. England, in exchange, was to return those Nationalists who had been captured or arrested, with the exception of those who it was alleged had been guilty of brutal or bad treatment of English and Armenian captives.

Mustafa Kamal felt that he could neither approve nor ratify such an agreement, because, in his view, it would have meant that he would thereby recognize the right of a foreign Power over the acts of a Turkish subject in the interior of Turkey itself.

As, however, the British released some Nationalist prisoners without waiting for ratification, he on his part released a number of British.

Later on, following an arrangement which was made on October 23rd, 1921, between the Vice-President of the Red Crescent and the British Commissioner in

Stanboul, the exchange of all the Turkish prisoners in Malta and all the British prisoners in Turkey was decided upon, a decision which was duly carried out.

When in London, Bekir Sami Bey, besides his official negotiations, had an interview of a strictly private nature with Mr. Lloyd George. The actual words which passed were taken down in shorthand. Bekir Sami Bey was provided with a copy. This, however, mysteriously disappeared. It is certain that it reached Turkey. Thereafter it seemed suddenly to cease to exist.

On March 11th Bekir Sami Bey had an interview with M. Briand. A document was signed on this occasion. According to this, hostilities between France and the National Government of Turkey were deemed to be at an end. . . . French officials were to officer the Turkish gendarmerie . . . . The gendarmerie organized by the French was to be retained. . . . The French were to have the preference in economic enterprises for the development of the districts evacuated by France. . . . In addition the French were to be granted mining concessions.

This agreement was also rejected by Mustafa Kamal.

Berkir Sami Bey had also signed an agreement with Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister.

According to this, Italy undertook to support Turkish claims at the Peace Conference for the restitution of Thrace and Smyrna. In exchange for this Turkey was to cede to Italy a prior right for economic development in various specified places throughout the country.

In this agreement it was also laid down that there should be ceded to Italian capitalists all those economic enterprises which should not be carried out by the Turkish Government, or by Turkish capital, and that

mines of Heraklea should be transferred to a Turko-
an company.

This agreement also suffered the fate of rejection.

Mustafa Kamal looked at these agreements in this way. believed that these documents were drawn up for other purpose than to cause the National Govern-nt to accept a treaty which the Powers had concluded ong themselves. This was called the "Tripartite greement," and it divided Anatolia into three spheres influence.

The Entente statesmen in London had also induced kir Sami Bey tacitly to agree to this scheme.

When Bekir Sami Bey returned to Angora with these cements Mustafa Kamal could only express his ofound astonishment.

When taken to task on the subject the Foreign Minister pressed his conviction that the agreements were in cord with the higher interests of the State. He declared, rther, that he would support this conviction and defend before the Grand National Assembly.

There is this to be said for the Foreign Minister. He d been in London. He, more than Mustafa Kamal, uld gauge how far the Powers were prepared to depart om the principles of the Treaty of Sèvres. And he d struck what he believed, in the circumstances pre-iling, to be the best bargain that was possible. This, wever, was the Allied view.

Mustafa Kamal did not see eye to eye with the proposal at the Deputies should be drawn into a protracted cussion of what had transpired in London, and ggested a more direct course.

He proposed that the Foreign Minister should tender s resignation.

Bekir Sami Bey accepted the position and resigned.

Bekir Sami Bey, however, still maintained that he was right in his principles, but no one except himself saw the excellence of those principles.

He subsequently departed once again to Europe, but Mustafa Kamal let it be known on this occasion that he was not entrusted with any official mission.

When in Europe the ex-Foreign Minister came into close contact with various Allied statesmen and, appalled by the strength of purpose which these gentlemen displayed, became a disciple of the creed of peace at any price.

He bombarded Mustafa Kamal with telegrams to this effect.

One, dated December, 1921, is sufficient to indicate the state of his mind.

He said :

"I am firmly convinced that the continuation of war will destroy and annihilate our country to such a degree that its existence, as well as that of the nation, will be jeopardized and that all the sacrifices which we have made will have been in vain."

Mustafa Kamal came to the conclusion that the statesmen of Europe were playing on the nerves of Bekir Sami Bey, and for the most part he ignored his communications.

Izzet Pasha and Salih Shah, the two Ministers from the capital who had called upon Mustafa Kamal as a deputation from the Sublime Porte, will be remembered.

All this time they had been in Angora and, perhaps not unnaturally, were finding their position extremely uncomfortable.

They continually appealed to Mustafa Kamal, both

directly and indirectly, to be allowed to return to their families in Stanboul. They repeatedly assured Mustafa Kemal that, if they were allowed to return, they would keep entirely aloof from politics.

One day, when the Council of Ministers was sitting, Izzet Pasha proceeded to the Chamber and asked to see Ismet Pasha.

Izzet Pasha gave an assurance, on his word of honour, that if he were allowed to return to his family he would not accept an official position in the capital. He added that Salih Shah also pledged his word of honour.

Ismet Pasha informed the Council of the conversation. The Council came to the conclusion that the presence of the two Ministers in Angora was of no material advantage. On the contrary, their retention against their will offered a handle for antagonism. Therefore it was decided that they should be allowed to depart.

Mustafa Kamal pointed out to the Council that he did not consider the pledge that had been tendered sincere and straightforward. He expressed the opinion that the two Ministers would resume their duties to the Sublime Porte when they returned to the capital, and in this way cause further annoyance to Angora. He held that permission to return should only be accorded if the Ministers consented to give an undertaking in writing.

Izzet Pasha was in an adjoining room and overhead Mustafa Kamal's declaration.

He immediately picked up a pen and wrote out an undertaking to resign. He signed it. Later Salih Pasha signed an undertaking in identical terms.

Mustafa Kamal was still unsatisfied and called the attention of the Council to the fact that the written pledge referred merely to resignation, and had not the

same force as the verbal undertaking which had been given. He declared, further, that some trickery was afoot, and that the two Ministers should be required to give a more binding promise in writing.

The Council of Ministers, however, impressed by the verbal statements previously made by the Ministers, pleaded that as men of honour they should be allowed to go their ways.

Mustafa Kamal reluctantly agreed.

On their return to the capital the two Ministers handed in their resignation as they had agreed in writing.

A few days later they accepted other Ministerial appointments within the Cabinet and, moreover, informed Mustafa Kamal by telegram that they had done so.

Mustafa Kamal replied with a terse note of castigation.

Izzet Pasha replied to this on July 6th, and said:

"The pledge which Salih Pasha and I gave was to the effect that on our return we would hand in our resignations. We have carried out that undertaking."

Izzet Pasha, however, well pleased with what he had accomplished, did not bear malice. He proceeded to give Mustafa news of events in the capital.

"The Entente Powers," he said in his communications, "are supporting Greece, and the possibility begins to take shape that Constantinople will be ceded to Greece to serve her as a naval base.

"Taking into account the lawful position of the Government here, and the presence of the interested Powers in Constantinople, the fact is evident that it is neither possible nor right to ignore the situation here. Besides, the majority of the present Cabinet does not follow aims which are personal and have the interests and the welfare of the country at heart.

"With this in mind, the Cabinet desires with all its
rt to come to a reasonable understanding with the
ple of Angora. If its sincerity meets with a fitting
sponse there is no reason why there should not be
ch co-operation as will result in the rendering of the
st valuable services to the country."

Mustafa Kamal had had high hopes of Izzet Pasha. He
d believed that during his stay in Angora he had be-
me imbued with many traits of the Nationalists.

His decision, therefore, to open once again the warfare
tween the Cabinet at the capital and the Government
Angora he regarded as a big and disappointing setback
his plans.

KAMAL REALIZES HIS DESTINY

PRACTICALLY three months had elapsed since the victory of the Nationalist forces over the Greeks at Inongu and their heavy defeat at the hands of another Greek army a few days later.

The Greeks meanwhile had been preparing for another onslaught. Their general attack began on July 10th, 1921.

The Nationalist army had been concentrated at Eski-Shehr in the old positions at Inongu. Two or three other divisions were scattered about the countryside within easy reach of the front.

The Greeks had an army corps concentrated at Brusa, and two others east of Ushak.

The opening of the new Greek offensive led to a series of battles known as the battles of Kutayah–Eski-Shehr. These lasted for a fortnight, during which time the Nationalist forces had to retire in the face of superior numbers, rifle and machine-gun fire and artillery fire.

Up to that time Mustafa Kamal had not succeeded in providing sufficient transport for his troops. Therefore the retirement, in a sense, was according to plan.

Realizing his deficiencies without an adequacy of transport, Mustafa Kamal, prior to the opening of the Greek offensive, had established a large area between his and the enemy's forces. He made plans, in the event of attack, for the Nationalist army gradually to retire, if necessary, even as far north as Sakaria. His purpose

[illegible]d this plan was to lengthen the Greek line of [illegible]munications, and thereby reduce the disparity be[illegible]n the respective weight of fire of the two forces.

[illegible]e considered that the military advantages accruing [illegible]ch a plan would be greater than the sense of moral [illegible]k which would be produced on public opinion.

When, in obedience to his plan of campaign, the [illegible]tionalist forces began gradually to retire in the face of [illegible]e Greek onslaught, there was the utmost excitement [illegible]ng the Deputies at Angora.

The Assembly met and the most pessimistic speeches [illegible]re uttered.

In a roundabout way Mustafa Kamal was blamed for [illegible]t was regarded as another military reverse, and it [illegible]s suggested with some force that the person so [illegible]sponsible should himself take the head of the National[illegible]forces and, if necessary, die with them upon the field [illegible]battle.

Finally one, Selaheddin Bey, Deputy for Mersina, [illegible]rly mentioned Mustafa Kamal by name and asked [illegible]im to take over command.

The number of Deputies who subscribed to this [illegible]roposal gradually grew as the debate proceeded. They [illegible]re obviously actuated by different motives, as they [illegible]t in two sections.

There was one group which had come to the conclu[illegible]n that the army was already completely routed, and [illegible]t there was no longer any hope of saving the situation. [illegible]wanted Mustafa Kamal in the front, or perhaps the [illegible]lmost, rank of the army, in the hope that he would [illegible]e slain on the field of battle.

There was another group—somewhat in the majority [illegible]—who desired to see Mustafa Kamal at the head of the

forces because they honestly believed that he could retrieve the situation.

Mustafa Kamal remained impassive throughout the debate and displayed no inclination to accept the invitation thrown out so generously.

This led to further speeches couched in extreme pessimism. So lugubrious were the delegates that the majority, by this time, had convinced themselves that a terrible catastrophe was only just round the corner.

Some even expressed doubts as to their own safety.

Mustafa Kamal's reaction was typical of the man.

He left the Chamber for his own personal room. There he addressed a letter to himself in his capacity of the President of the Assembly, and informed the President that he would accept the supreme command.

He made one stipulation, however, and that was that he should be accorded full powers for a period of three months.

It is here that we first see the Man of Destiny emerging.

Mustafa Kamal's acceptance of the supreme command and his demand for wide powers frightened many of the Deputies, especially those who had formed themselves into a semi-opposition group.

Some began to dissemble.

We cannot confer the title of Commander-in-Chief, they argued, for the supreme command is vested in the Assembly. They suggested that Mustafa Kamal might be designated Deputy Commander-in-Chief. There were others who refused point blank to hand over the powers of the Assembly to one man, even for the comparatively short period of three months.

Mustafa Kamal said in effect that without full powers he would decline to lead the army.

He pointed out that, if he were to be successful, he could have to be in that position when orders which he gave would be carried out immediately and unconditionally. He could only be sure that his orders were being obeyed if the full powers of the Assembly were personally handed to him.

In the end Mustafa Kamal had his way. A short Bill was introduced and passed which placed in his hands full and complete authority.

He still remained for several days in Angora. He spent the time formulating his headquarters. He did this by uniting the offices of the General Staff with those of the Minister for National Defence.

Every moment was devoted to the question of providing transport and supplies.

His Order No. I established a "National Commission of Requisitions" in every district.

Order No. II required every house in the country to prepare equipment, consisting of a parcel of linen, a pair of socks, a pair of shoes and other small items. These had to be handed to the Commission of the district.

Order No. III confiscated, on the undertaking of compense at a later date, 40 per cent. of the following goods in the hands of merchants or ordinary citizens: linen, American cloth, cambric, cotton, wool and mohair, all kinds of material for the manufacture of men's summer and winter clothing, rough linen, calfskin, moquette, sole leather, brown and black leather, shoes, boots, iron shoe-nails, brass tags, cobblers' and saddlers' thread, iron for horseshoes, nails, feeding bags, halters, horse blankets, girths, curry-combs, pack-saddles, gloves, caps, etc., etc.

Order No. IV provided for the requisition of 40 per cent. of all corn, straw, flour, barley, beans, oats, peas, lentils, beasts ready for slaughter, sugar, petrol, rice, soap, butter, oil, tea, candles, etc., etc.

Order No. V imposed upon the population the duty of conducting military transports once a month by such means as remained at their disposal after the requisitions had been made.

Order No. VI raided the stores of all unclaimed goods.

Order No. VII laid it down that all arms and ammunition belonging to the civil population be handed over for the use of the army within three days.

Order No. VIII saw the requisition of 40 per cent. of the country's motor-cars, lorries, etc., and of spares.

Subsequent orders required a list to be made of all farriers, saddlers, wheelwrights and munition makers.

Ten per cent. of the country's wheeled carts were confiscated, together with an equal proportion of mules, donkeys, horses and ponies.

On August 12th, having been the Leader to some purpose for the space of a few days, Mustafa Kamal departed for the front satisfied that his orders were being obeyed.

When he arrived, in company with Fewsi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, he came to the conclusion that the Greeks, as soon as they made contact, would attempt an enveloping movement on his left flank. He made the necessary dispositions. Events proved him to be right in his surmise. On August 23rd the Greeks came up with the halted Turkish forces and opened an attack. The Greeks broke through the line in several places and the fighting was really sanguinary.

Each time they broke through Mustafa Kamal, with

ld of his requisitioned transport, was able to repair breach.

is battle took place on a front of 100 kilometres, t it was no small affair.

e Nationalist left wing had withdrawn to a distance fifty kilometres south of Angora, where the Deputies e anxiously awaiting the turn of events, many of m, indeed, prepared for the worst to the extent of ding their valuables and making preparations for a ed departure. The Turkish front was facing west- d, and turned to the south. Mustafa Kamal pushed force nearest to Angora more to the north. This the effect of changing the alignment of his front, did not avail him much, for the Greeks still suc- ded in piercing the line. Whenever this occurred, ever, he was able to bring up reinforcements.

Mustafa Kamal told his forces that there was no line defence as such, but merely a plan of defence. He ed orders that no inch of ground was to be given up d it was drenched with the blood of Nationalist ey.

Every unit, he said, large or small, could be dislodged m its position, but every unit could re-establish its t once again in the face of the enemy at the first where the terrain lent itself to such a purpose.

e issued orders that units who observed neighbouring s forced to retire were not to link their own fate a general retirement, but were to fight on.

he Nationalist troops obeyed this behest. It was ning for the Greeks, who were far from their base who were operating against tactics quite unexpected. y suffered heavy losses in making their purely local sses. At the right moment Mustafa Kamal called

a halt all along his line. The right wing began an enveloping movement and in a remarkably short time the Greek line was curled up. The Greek army was forced hurriedly to retire—it would not be too much to call it an unparalleled rout. On September 13th there was no trace of the Greek army to be found east of Sakaria.

Angora, in other words, was saved.

This battle had lasted from August 23rd until September 13th, and there was heavy fighting for twenty-two days and nights.

Mustafa Kamal, having freed Anatolia from a great menace, believed that he had much more to perform. He took the view that war did not entail two armies fighting together and nothing else. He considered that his sphere of influence went much beyond this. He displayed no disposition to relinquish his special powers.

In the fighting Mustafa Kamal had sustained two broken ribs. He had been prodded with considerable force by the butt of a Greek rifle.

Incidentally he had no style or title during this phase of the operations. After the Battle of Sakaria the National Assembly met in special session and promoted him to the rank of Marshal.

The Assembly also conferred upon him the rank of Ghazi.

As a sequel to the Battle of Sakaria the Agreement of Angora was signed. This was on October 21st, 1921.

It is necessary, in order fully to appreciate the situation then obtaining, to trace back the course of events for a few weeks.

After the Conference in London and the victory at Inongu, there was concluded the treaty with Moscow.

ftereafter Mustafa Kamal considered it expedient to
ge to a clearer understanding with the Entente
wers.

Although the agreement made by Bekir Sami Bey
d the French had been incontinently turned down by
gora, an attempt was made to open negotiations with
French. The French did not seem to be unwilling
open conversations.

In the first instance the French deputed M. Franklin
illon, the former Minister at Angora, to open the
gotiations.

The first meeting between M. Bouillon and Mustafa
mal took place in the latter's quarters near the railway
tion at Angora.

The question arose as to what should form the basis
the conversations.

Mustafa Kamal, for his part, suggested the National
ct—in other words, the Act of Constitution. The
ench delegate pointed out the difficulties which would
se were this to be taken up, and suggested the Treaty
Sèvres.

He suggested further, rather ingenuously perhaps,
at a start might be made by taking the agreement
ched in London between the French and Bekir Sami
y.

At the outset Mustafa Kamal made it quite clear that
would have nothing to do with the Treaty of Sèvres.
The Treaty," he said, " is a death sentence for the whole
rkish nation. So much so that we shall demand that
ery name shall not be mentioned to anyone who calls
mself our friend. We cannot enter into confidential
ations with countries that have not banished the
ves Treaty from their minds. In our eyes the Treaty

does not exist. If the leader of the Turkish delegation which went to London did not speak to this effect it signifies that he did not act in accordance with his instructions. We are aware that his error in this respect has created an unfavourable impression throughout Europe, but we cannot condone this by committing a similar error."

After lengthy negotiations the French delegate suggested that the proceedings be adjourned in order that he might read the Pact at his leisure.

The later discussions dragged on, M. Bouillon referring many points to Paris, but eventually there was prepared and signed the Agreement of Angora. This was signed by the French delegate. By this agreement many parts of Turkey were freed from foreign domination.

Thus was the first act of recognition of Angora and of Nationalist Turkey by a Western Power.

The ways even of a Man of Destiny, however, are hard.

Notwithstanding the satisfactory character of the Agreement of Angora and of the victory over the Greeks at Sakaria, there were men in the Assembly—mainly those who had been liberated by the British and had returned from Malta—who were captious.

They asked why the Turkish army had not followed up its success and had not thrown the Greeks completely out of Smyrna.

To an outsider, reading the reports of the debates, it would seem that the object of many speakers was to impel the Nationalist forces to go forward, even beneath the innuendoes of cowardice. Mustafa Kamal, however, refused to be drawn.

He did make one speech, and it was remarkably short.

ld the Assembly that the army would move forward
he had completed his preparations and not before.
Turkish armies of former times, he added, had been
d to retire even from the gates of Vienna, only
use they had not displayed that wisdom that was
ite in the conduct of great enterprises.

Moreover, although he did not labour the point
re the Assembly, he was fully aware that when he
dvance he would have to do so over an area wasted
e enemy.

He told the Deputies that it was more important to
tain a stout heart upon the political front than it
s in the field, and he had some hard words to say
ding the oft-repeated utterances of pessimism in
h so many indulged.

"Weak and faint-hearted persons," he said, "are
ncing the nation in a manner that draws them into
rity in the face of every danger, and leaves them with
nergy for action. In their weakness and hesitation
go so far as to humiliate themselves by repeating to
nselves, 'We are no men; we cannot become men.'"
In the face of such taunts, some of the worst which
ld be thrown in the face of an Oriental, the critics
ame silent.

Mustafa Kamal made all preparations for finally
ling with the Greeks, but fortunately, in March, 1922,
Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Entente
posed an armistice to the Greek and Turkish Govern-
nts.

When the proposal was made Mustafa Kamal was at
front.

The outline of the proposed armistice was this: That
demilitarized zone of ten kilometres should be estab-

lished between the forces of both sides, that the troops were not to be reinforced either by men or ammunition, that no alteration was to be made in the disposition of the troops, and that both armies were to be under the control of officers appointed by the Entente.

Hostilities were to be suspended for a period of three months. The period would automatically be extended for a further period of three months until the preliminaries of peace had been accepted by both sides.

The Greeks, who had been feeling the strain of the operations, immediately agreed to the armistice.

Mustafa Kamal, for his part, realized that his forces were just at that moment coming up to fighting pitch. He had been able, by means of his special powers, to provide equipment which was adequate if not likely to commend itself to a fastidious parade-ground commander, and he had no desire for a period of inactivity during which his forces might easily become demoralized.

Being at the front, the first action of Mustafa Kamal was to get into communication with the Council of Ministers in Angora for the purpose of exchanging views.

The Council of Ministers was disposed to postpone the reply to the Entente Powers, but Mustafa Kamal would not agree. Instead, he drew up a reply in which he said that Angora agreed to an armistice in principle. He emphasized, however, that the Nationalist forces would not desist for a single moment in pushing forward with their preparations and, moreover, would not consent to the establishment of a control commission of Allied officers. He added that one essential condition to an armistice would be evacuation of the territory by the Greeks.

A second Note arrived from the conference of Ministers at Paris on March 26th.

This Note contained the proposals of the Entente in regard to the major peace. The points of this Note can be summarized thus :

"Participation in the League of Nations, in order that the minority rights in Turkey might be protected.

"The creation of a home in the East for the Armenians, and participation in the League of Nations in order to further this undertaking.

"The establishment of a demilitarized zone in the districts of the Gallipoli Peninsula and of the Straits, to safeguard the freedom of the Straits.

"The settlement of the frontiers of Thrace in such a manner that Rodosto would be surrendered to Turkey ; Kirk, Kilisse, Baba, Eski and Adrianople to the Greeks ; and the acceptance of a proposal guaranteeing the Greeks in Smyrna and the Turks in Adrianople a fair part in the administration of these two towns.

"Evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies after the conclusion of Peace.

"Increase in the strength of the Turkish army.

"Abolition of the Financial Commission as laid down by the Treaty of Sèvres."

Angora gave its reply to the two Notes on April 5th.

Mustafa Kamal agreed in principle to an armistice with the Greeks, but laid it down as an indispensable and essential condition that evacuation should commence immediately after the armistice was concluded.

The Allies replied on April 15th, regretting their inability to agree to the proposal.

In regard to the Peace negotiations, Kamal declared in a Note dispatched to the Allies on April 22nd that,

armistice or no armistice, there was no point in delay in this direction.

He proposed that a conference should be held at Ismidt.

Various other suggestions were made for a conference, but these failed to fructify.

In the meanwhile Mustafa Kamal was having some slight difficulty with the Grand National Assembly.

When that body had accorded him full powers in August, 1921, it had laid down that these should operate only for a period of months.

Mustafa Kamal continued in the rôle of the Leader even after the legislative period governing his special powers had expired.

At the end of October, 1921, however, he induced the Assembly to renew the Act. The Assembly complied once more in February, 1922.

In May, 1922, the question of renewal came up once again. On account of illness Mustafa Kamal was unable to be present in the Chamber, and many Deputies took advantage of his absence to say things which they perhaps would not have said had he been present to hear them.

A long debate ensued, and finally the question was put to the vote. Those against a continuance of Mustafa Kamal's special powers found themselves in the majority. The Bill was not passed.

A much perturbed Council of Ministers waited on Mustafa Kamal to inform him of what had happened.

The Council of Ministers suggested that they should resign as a protest. Mustafa Kamal told them to retain their offices for another twenty-four hours.

Constitutionally, as the Bill had not been passed by

Assembly, the army was without a commander. ...fa Kamal, however, ignored the imputation and ...med the Council of Ministers that he was retaining ...eld as head of the forces.

...the following day Mustafa Kamal summoned a ...sitting of the Assembly and dragged himself from ...is bed in order to attend.

...told the Deputies something of what was in his ...

"Pardon me if I speak quite frankly," he said, "but ...seem to forget that it was I who was responsible for ...election of each one of you, and for the far-reaching ...ers since bestowed upon you. In achieving all this ...d to fight a storm of opposition. I risked my life, ...existence, my honour and my dignity. It is therefore ...y personal work."

...veral Deputies at this stage objected to the Assembly ...ting in a secret sitting.

"You are trying to conceal the truth from the nation," ...he cried continuously.

...Mustafa Kamal turned on the interrupters.

"What national advantage is to be gained," he de...ded, "by discussing this matter in public and letting ...enemy know all that you have to say against me? ...Gentlemen," he proceeded, "we have not come here ...ct in a comedy."

...There were further interruptions.

...Mustafa Kamal, with a gesture, told the Deputies that ...y were part of the Assembly, and that they were not ...ding in a café on the boulevards.

"Some of you," he went on, "have complained that ...ave imposed compulsory service upon the nation. ...It is quite true, but necessity and danger justify every-

thing. If the needs of the army demand compulsory service I shall continue to impose it. I would not hesitate for one moment, if some law stood in my way, absolutely to override it.

"States," he proceeded, "are administered by Governments in various ways. They have kings, emperors, sultans at their head. Some have leaders such as presidents. In such cases the commander-in-chief is the head of the State.

"According to our present form of government the commander-in-chief is absorbed by the moral personality of the Assembly. If, therefore, the Assembly has declared that it has elected this or that person commander-in-chief, such declaration constitutes the law.

"The chief commanding in such circumstances, and entrusted with an extraordinary mission, is not one who is subject to the limitations of the penal code.

"And do you know what, in your arrogance, you have done?" he demanded. "You have left your army without a commander!

"Knowing that you could not have realized the seriousness of your act, I have remained in command. Perhaps it is better to say that I refused to leave. I shall never leave in this way."

The Assembly, after one or two more home truths, recalled its decision of the day before, passed its Bill and restored Mustafa Kamal to his lawful leadership.

Those in opposition to Mustafa Kamal marshalled their forces. They knew that the matter would have to be raised again when the period specified by the Act had elapsed and they staged a further attack.

They succeeded in passing a Bill relating to the election of Ministers. Under the terms of this Bill the Ministers

the President of the Council were to be directly ted by the Assembly in secret ballot.

secret ballot was actually held and Mustafa Kamal oved from the office of President of the Council. f Bey was elected in his place. Kamal, however, ained his position as President of the Assembly, ough this, in a sense, was unconstitutional.

When the news was conveyed to Mustafa Kamal he for Rauf Bey. The latter declared that he hesitated ccept the appointment. Nevertheless he did so, and ld it from July, 1922, to August, 1923.

In June, 1922, the suggestions for an armistice having come to nothing, Mustafa Kamal decided that his forces were sufficiently prepared to carry out a further attack against the Greeks.

The Greek army consisted of three army corps of twelve divisions, and there were independent contingents comprising three divisions.

Mustafa Kamal had concentrated a force about equal in number and equal in rifle fire. In machine guns, artillery, aeroplanes and technical material the Greeks were easily the superior.

Mustafa Kamal had trouble with some of his lesser commanders, two or three of whom abstained from sending in reports. One, Ihsan Pasha, behaved with more than ordinary arrogance, and Mustafa Kamal had to dispose of him through the medium of a court-martial.

In his indictment of this officer Mustafa Kamal said: "A very pronounced spirit of conceit and self-satisfaction is to be observed in all his opinions."

If one may be allowed to digress for a moment, however, it has to be confessed that Mustafa Kamal had more than this against this commander.

Ihsan Pasha was a modern Duke of Plazatoro.

He was concerned in the fighting against the British forces in Iraq.

In one of the last engagements there, which took place

the eve of the Armistice, the Turks suffered very
ne losses at Mount Sheikh Elvan. This resulted in
loss to Turkey of the oil-bearing vilayet of Mosul.
Ihsan Pasha caused reports to appear in certain news-
pers in which his own activities were glorified. He
ted a Colonel Ismail Hakki for the defeat of the
glish Tigris force.
The Turkish army (the Tigris force) was a very strong
, and the British thoroughly routed it, capturing
,000 men and over fifty guns.
Mustafa Kamal always in his own mind held Ihsan
a responsible for this defeat. If Ihsan Pasha, he
ged, had ordered the Tigris forces to retire to Kejare
British could never have defeated them.
Mustafa Kamal knew the man to be a braggart.
h articles which it was suspected that he had written
self he attributed to his own acumen all the successes
ch the Turks had gained along the Tigris, including
capture of General Townshend at Kut-el-Amara.
Following this defeat, Ihsan Pasha received orders
m the British commander (General Marshall) that he
st evacuate Mosul on the following day or be taken
soner.
Ihsan Pasha asked that armoured cars should be placed
his disposal so that his person might be protected
ring his journey. He left thus protected for Aleppo.
ere he asked for a special train and a strong escort,
order that he would not be exposed to the attacks of
e people on his way to Constantinople.
Mustafa Kamal, therefore, had not much respect for
e man's personal courage or his military attributes.
However, to return to the preparations for the attack
pon the Greeks.

Mustafa Kamal planned to fight a decisive battle by concentrating his main forces on one flank. He had been impressed by the tactics employed by General Lord Allenby in the final phases of the Palestine fighting.

He therefore resorted to subterfuge.

At this time General Townshend had arrived at Konia, near by, and had expressed a desire to see Mustafa Kamal. Kamal gave out that he was going to Konia in accordance with this request. In point of fact, he proceeded to the headquarters of the main front and discussed with his General Staff the details of the impending battle. In order to cloud their discussions the troops were ordered to engage in a football match. Observers would have imagined that the Staff, instead of discussing a plan of campaign, was animatedly criticizing the match.

The orders for the attack were passed in the utmost secrecy. All movements of troops were made by night, and by day all had to shelter in villages or beneath trees. As did General Allenby in Palestine, movements were made rather more openly on that part of the line farthest from the point of projected attack.

The battle was opened at dawn on August 26th, 1922.

In two days the Turkish forces had advanced a distance of fifty kilometres. On August 30th the main body of the Greek forces had been turned. By the evening the main body had suffered heavy losses and large numbers of Greeks had been captured. Among the prisoners was the Greek Commander-in-Chief.

Mustafa Kamal followed up his successes, and to such purpose that on September 5th he was able to inform the Council of Ministers that the entire Greek army in Anatolia had been defeated, and that any further serious resistance would be impossible.

"There is," he added in his telegram, "no reason to ter into any negotiations with regard to Anatolia. there is any question of an armistice, this can only ly to Thrace."

The telegram was addressed to the President of the ncil of Ministers. He signed it as Commander-in-f and as President of the Grand National Assembly. In the event of the Greeks seeking an armistice he laid on the following conditions :

"Within a fortnight of the date of the armistice Thrace be unconditionally restored up to its frontiers of 1914.

"Our prisoners of war in Greece must be returned hin a fortnight.

"Greece will bind herself to repair the devastation le by her army during the last three and a half years."

In a wireless message which he received Mustafa Kamal informed that the Allied Powers had given the uisite authority for their consuls to enter into negoti-ons with him, and he was requested to state at what e he would grant an interview.

While these messages were passing the victorious rkish forces maintained their supremacy over the eks. There was the Battle of Afium Kara Hissar the Battle of Dumlu Pumar. Collectively there were ations which resulted in the complete destruction of Greek army, and in the remnants of that force being en into the Mediterranean and the Sea of Marmora. One would have imagined that the Turkish nation, ough it had had to wait a long time for these victories, uld have been overjoyed at the outcome. Its wild sports of joy must have been steeped in the Oriental ism of the race, for Mustafa Kamal received little the way of commendation.

The Nationalist armies continued their march, making gradually for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, Mustafa Kamal's object being to oust the Greeks from Thrace as he had done from Smyrna and elsewhere.

Mr. Lloyd George, notwithstanding the reactions which the continued delay in the Peace *pourparlers* was having in the British Empire itself (it will be remembered that there were grave disturbances in India at this period over this very question, disturbances which cost the lives of thousands of British Moslems), was still chary about acknowledging Mustafa Kamal.

When Mr. Lloyd George was informed of the Nationalist successes against the Greeks, and of the advance of Mustafa Kamal in the direction of Constantinople, he counselled opposition rather than negotiation. He appealed to the British Dominions for reinforcements to meet this "usurper." It is perhaps as well that that appeal was unsuccessful. Another protracted war would have been the outcome.

As Mustafa Kamal, still advancing, displayed no signs of being intimidated by the threats of the British Prime Minister, General Pellé, the French High Commissioner, proceeded to Smyrna with the intention of interviewing him.

General Pellé advised Mustafa Kamal not to allow his forces to enter those zones which he described as neutral.

Mustafa Kamal replied that the Nationalist forces recognized no such zones, and that it was impossible for him to hold back his army until Thrace had been delivered from the hands of the Greeks.

During the course of these discussions M. Franklin Bouillon arrived on board a French man-of-war. M.

illon stated that he had been sent by the French
vernment, with the acquiescence of the British and
lian Governments, and he produced a Note from the
eign Ministers of the Entente. This was dated
ember 23rd.

related to two essential points. One referred to the
ation of hostilities, and the other to the Peace Con-
ence.

the Note Mustafa Kamal was asked to send delegates
a conference which was to take place in Venice, and
which Great Britain, France, Japan, Rumania, Yugo-
via and Greece would be invited.

it also the Entente expressed their desire to see
restitution of Thrace as far as Maritza, including
inople, and that this question would be taken into
ideration providing that Mustapha Kamal did not
his troops against the neutral zones of the
aits.

addition, the Note touched upon the question of
Straits, the minorities and the inclusion of Turkey
the League of Nations.

his reply, dated September 29th, Mustafa Kamal
med the Entente that he agreed to the proposal
a conference and suggested that it should be held at
dania. He demanded, however, that Thrace, as far
Maritza, should be restored immediately.

He added that he had chosen Ismet Pasha to act for
at the conference.

A conference was convened at Mudania under the
manship of Ismet Pasha. General Sir Charles
ington was the representative of Great Britain,
eral Charpy represented France, and General Monbelli,
ly.

After violent discussions, which lasted for a week, the Armistice of Mudania was signed.

Thrace was once again incorporated with Turkey.

The Assembly at Angora, meanwhile, was becoming somewhat restive once more. The Council of Ministers asked Mustafa Kamal to return, and did so in a tone which conveyed the impression, in terms not to be mistaken, that his military functions had terminated, and that political functions were entirely within the province of the Assembly.

Mustafa Kamal considered that it was impossible for him to leave the army, or to interrupt the negotiations in which he was engaged. He proposed therefore that, if the Council of Ministers wanted to consult him, the Council should come to him rather than that he should proceed to Angora.

Rauf Bey, the President of the Council and the Foreign Minister complied with the request.

The delegation put forward names for inclusion in the delegation to the forthcoming Peace Conference.

After some discussion the Council of Ministers was informed that Ismet Pasha, who had already met the Allied representatives at Mudania, would be chairman of the delegation to the Conference. Also that he would be given the position of Foreign Minister.

The delegation retired.

Mustafa Kamal followed it to Angora.

Ismet Pasha became Foreign Minister.

On October 28th the Entente Powers issued their invitation to the Peace Conference at Lausanne.

The Powers not only invited representatives of the Turkish Nationalists, but also representatives of the Sublime Porte.

This two-fold invitation led to the final abolition of monarchy.

The National Assembly, or at least a goodly proportion of it, still retained a healthy regard for the Sultanate and the Caliphate.

Many Deputies were definitely against any proposal for the abolition of the throne, and they distrusted the attitude which Mustafa Kamal adopted in this matter.

In the beginning Mustafa Kamal temporized. He decided to abolish the Sultanate, or the monarchy, and retain the Caliphate, the Sultan thus being shorn of his administrative powers and being regarded only as the spiritual head of the nation.

The Sultan and the Cabinet in Constantinople did not give up without a struggle.

Following the dual invitation to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, Tewfik Pasha, who was still Grand Vizier, addressed a telegram to Mustafa Kamal.

In this he said that the victories which had been gained in the field had done away with conflict and dualism between Angora and Constantinople. He added that there was no longer an enemy on Turkish soil and the Sultan was still upon the throne. Therefore it was the duty of all to obey the Sultan in all that he might direct. The Grand Vizier also addressed the President of the Angora Council of Ministers in similar strain.

In this telegram Tewfik Pasha spoke of the services of the Constantinople Cabinet to the State, and almost made it appear that he personally had been responsible for the routing of the Greeks.

The Assembly debated the telegram sent to the Ministerial President, and also the question of the future existence of the Sultanate.

The opposition to abolition was very strong. It was led by a Colonel Selaheddin Bey and one Zia Hurshid, who, unfortunately, was subsequently hanged at Smyrna.

These factions said quite openly that the Sultanate should remain.

Mustafa Kamal argued that the Sultanate and the Caliphate could be separated, and that the Grand Assembly should possess the national sovereignty.

Eventually the matter was referred to three committees.

The three committees sat in one room!

They began to deliberate.

Mustafa Kamal addressed them collectively. He said what he did not care to utter in open Assembly.

"Sovereignty," he said, "is something which is not academic. It is acquired by force, by power, by violence. The nation has, in fact, revolted against these usurpers. It has put them in their right place. Actually it is carrying on the sovereignty. It is an actual fact. In reality you have nothing to discuss. It has come to a question of merely giving expression to what has long been an accomplished fact."

The committees were thunderstruck, but they were impressed.

The draft of the Bill was drawn up with amazing rapidity.

It was read on the same day to the Assembly, which had been convened for the second time.

Someone proposed that the question should be put.

Mustafa Kamal, having proceeded thus far in his plans, was not one to allow a free access to the lobbies.

He mounted the tribune.

"This procedure is useless," he exclaimed shortly. "I believe that the Assembly will unanimously adopt the principles of this Bill."

outs of "Vote! Vote!" were raised by the osition.

ere was tumult.

e Chairman put the Bill to the Assembly and ted:

The Assembly is unanimous."

am against it," cried several voices, but these were ned in demands for silence.

this manner fell the curtain on the last act but one.

e overthrow of the Ottoman dynasty had been lly decreed.

On November 17th, 1922, the Sultan, weighed down by the sense of calamities to come, hurriedly departed from his palace.

He left in the darkness, secretly, and with but a newspaper parcel of valuables frenziedly placed together in the few unhappy moments which separated a decision to flee and an uncontrollable urge safely to quit Turkish soil.

Another monarch had gone, mown down by the whirlwind of the Great War's aftermath.

There came an official telegram from General Sir Charles Harington confirming the event. This briefly stated:

"His Majesty has placed himself under the protection of the British and has left Constantinople on board a British man-of-war."

There followed an official communiqué.

This read:

"We announce officially that His Imperial Majesty, appreciating the danger that threatens his life and freedom in the present circumstances, has, in his capacity as Caliph of all the Mohammedans, appealed for British protection, and has simultaneously requested that he may be transported from Constantinople to another place.

"His Majesty's desire has been fulfilled.

"Sir Charles Harington, Commander-in-Chief of the ish troops in Turkey, has accompanied His Majesty, l has conducted him to a British man-of-war.

"His Majesty has been received by Admiral Sir monde de Beauvoir Brook, commanding the Mediter- ean squadron. . . ."

While on his voyage to Malta the Sultan displayed ve fears for the safety of his womenfolk.

He sent many wireless messages on this subject to neral Sir Charles Harington, and the latter did his ost to keep him informed.

There is a letter which Sir Charles wrote to Ulvie kana, daughter of the Sultan, which throws some light the moving events of those days, packed with incident d portent.

This reads :

MADAME LA SULTANE,

"I have just received a wireless telegram from is Imperial Majesty the Sultan, who, at this moment, is proaching Malta. He asks me to inform him as to position of his family.

"To ascertain this I applied last Saturday at the ldiz Palace. I learned that the wife of His Majesty is in the best of health. I informed the Sultan of this mediately.

"If you will be kind enough to give me information out the Imperial family I shall be glad to transmit it mediately to His Majesty.

"On account of the difficult conditions in which His ajesty now finds himself, I take the liberty of addressing you, Madame, as well as to the Imperial family, my ncerest wishes, and I beg you to accept my devotion d the expression of my high esteem."

Referring to the departure of the Sultan, Mustafa Kamal derided the fleeing monarch.

"This creature," he exclaimed, "who was low enough to consider that his life and liberty could be in danger. He could not stand, even for a moment, at the head of his people. . . . An incapable and low creature, without heart or intelligence."

There was much more in the same strain, but I think that that will suffice.

The Grand National Assembly proclaimed the fugitive Caliph to be deposed.

Abdul Mejid Effendi was elected the last of the Caliphs.

Constantinople was told that Abdul Mejid Effendi would bear the title of Caliph of all Moslems. The new Caliph was to prepare a manifesto to the Moslem peoples which must first be passed by Angora. The text of the manifesto had to contain the following points:

". . . He shall explicitly express his satisfaction at having been elected Caliph by the Grand National Assembly.

"Wahideddin's conduct (the fugitive Caliph) shall be submitted to a thorough condemnation.

"The manifesto shall contain the first ten articles of the Act of Constitution. Other than that it shall contain no political allusion," etc., etc.

The new Caliph (to be) sent a reply which will seem curious to Western ears. He did not pay peculiar attention to the conditions of his election laid down by Angora, but stipulated that he should be styled "Caliph of All Moslems and Servant of the Sacred Places," and that he should wear a cloak and turban as worn by Mohammed, the Conqueror, at the Selamlik.

In reply Mustafa Kamal agreed to the title, but balked the costume. He insisted that the Caliph should wear frock coat and that the military uniform of a conqueror was out of the question.

Lengthy debates ensued in the Assembly regarding the powers of the new Caliph. Many would have been vested with the full powers of the abdicated monarch.

Mustafa Kamal stood out against this opposition throughout many stormy scenes, in one of which an excited Deputy did not hesitate to call him a liar—"and a liar who lies well, because you have had so much practice."

In spite of the tempestuous debates Mustafa Kamal had his way.

Tewfik Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and with him the best of the Constantinople Cabinet, eventually resigned and left him master of the field.

The plenary sitting of the Lausanne Conference began on November 21st, 1922. Ismet Pasha represented Turkey.

The Conference lasted for eight months, and the results are known to the world.

While the Conference was in being there were manifestations throughout the country in favour of the new Caliph. The majority of the people in the districts said, in effect: "The Caliphate and the Government are the same thing. No Assembly has the right to annul the rights and the authority of the Caliphate. Let us place the Caliph in the position of the Sultan."

The Caliph in Constantinople, hearing of the manifestations, began to dream of the day when he would be able to discard his much-hated frock coat for the more

ornate attire of the Conqueror, and the situation began to assume dangerous proportions.

Mustafa Kamal intercepted a telegram addressed to the Caliph from one of his principal lieutenants, in which the former was addressed as "Your Majesty."

When Mustafa Kamal investigated the matter he discovered the existence of a wild scheme to make the Caliph not only the ruler of Turkey, but the ruler of the entire Moslem world. It was definitely a pan-Islamic movement which was to embrace China, India, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, the Hedjaz, Yemen, Assyria, Egypt, Triplolis, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and the Sudan.

Mustafa Kamal stumped the countryside. He let it be known in quite unbridled language that no Caliph could be allowed to interfere with questions relating to the destiny of the State.

"You are contemplating a fool's paradise," he told the people. "Will Persia or Afghanistan, or any of these other countries which you have in view, recognize the authority of a Caliph whom we have set up? Do not be so absurd."

In April, 1923, the legislative life of the Grand National Assembly having come to an end, new elections were ordered.

The meeting of the second Assembly was in happier circumstances than those in which the first was convened.

The Peace of Lausanne was signed in July, 1923, and was ratified by the Assembly in August of that year.

Since the original Armistice of Mudros the Allied Powers had four times made peace proposals to Turkey.

The first was when they presented the draft Treaty of Sèvres.

he second was in London, after the Battle of Inongu.
he third was after the Battle of Sakaria.
ach time the proposals were progressive. In the
Turkey was completely freed from foreign occupa-
and thus realized the integrity of her territory.
soon became evident to Mustafa Kamal that he
ld have to apply a clean sweep to his Ministry if the
rement in favour of the Caliph was to be regulated.
therefore, intimated to the Cabinet that he would
pleased to receive its resignation.
le formed a Ministry to his own liking, and in October,
3, Turkey suddenly learned that a republic had been
claimed.
t is noteworthy that Mustafa Kamal consulted neither
Assembly nor those around him. He deemed
clamation to be sufficient.
le laid it down that the President of the Turkish
public would be elected by the Assembly.
After a heated session the Assembly agreed to the
ration in the constitution.
Turkey as a whole accepted the change with gratitude.
ew newspapers published in the shadow of the Palace
the capital advanced criticisms, but elsewhere there
a disposition to welcome the stability which the
clamation indicated.
Naturally the proclamation raised once again the
ition of the Caliph.
n a newspaper called the *Watan* it was written at this
e that the Caliph enjoyed great popularity among all
lievers; that he received thousands of telegrams and
ers each day from all over the world testifying to the
odwill of the Moslem peoples. It was added that the
liph should take advantage of the preoccupations of

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The following figures show the results of Governmental action in respect to home production:

	Year	Imports	Quantities Manufactured in the Country With Imported Yarn	With Home-spun Yarn	Total
Cotton Goods (in kilograms).					
	1923	20,500,000	3,000,000	70,000	3,700,000
	1927	19,300,000	3,252,000	2,470,000	5,722,000
	1932	13,432,000	2,415,000	6,640,000	9,055,000
Woollens (in kilograms).	1923	1,222,600	—	—	400,000
	1927	1,840,000	—	—	576,700
	1932	452,600	—	—	1,694,770

The average annual consumption is 2,300,000 kilos, and in 1934 the existing factories will be able to meet the entire requirements of the population.

Silk Goods.

Year	Imports	Home Production
1923	17,000	2,000
1927	173,000	9,300
1932	6,600	91,600

The existing mills are at present in a condition to meet the total requirements of the country.

Sugar Industry.

Prior to 1926 the total requirements of sugar were purchased from abroad. To discontinue this state of affairs, detrimental to the interests of home agriculture, the Government started in 1926 the first sugar factory at Ouchak, followed by those at Alpoullou in Thrace, Eskesehir and Sivas. Turkey had imported in 1923, 1924 and 1925 respectively foreign sugar of a total value of 15,964,000, 13,799,000 and 13,313,000 T.P. Thanks to the production of the first two factories, imports were reduced to 3,006,000 T.P. in 1932. For the season 1933 the sum paid to Turkish sugar-beet growers is estimated as between 4.5 to 5,000,000 T.P.

mports, which stood at 46,689 tons in 1923, 52,698 s in 1924, and 67,653 tons in 1925, have fallen to 332 tons in 1932. On the other hand, production, ich amounted to only 5184 tons in 1927, increased to 349 tons in 1932. The production of 1933 is estimated 45-50,000 tons.

ather Industry.

Tanneries existing in Turkey already succeed in eting the entire demand of the country. Imports of e leather, which were in 1923 1,851,000 kilos, of a al value of 1.5 million T.P., were *nil* in 1932. On the ner hand, home production increased during the same iod from 1,974,000 kilos to 4,105,000 kilos. Imports upper leather decreased from 519,000 kilos to 55,000 os, whilst production advanced from 75,000 kilos to 7,000 kilos. Manufacture of shoes and boots also ogressed considerably.

n and Flour.

Although Turkey is an agricultural country and a oducer of wheat, her imports of flour were in 1923 690,000 kilos, representing a value of about 3,000,000 P. To-day Turkey is supplying her own needs and ports have ceased altogether.

ment.

Imports fell from 65,000 tons in 1927 to 2300 tons in 932, and home production increased from 41,000 tons 129,000 tons during the same years. The output apacity of the existing factories, however, exceeds this gure.

Soap.

Imports were reduced from 2,675,000 kilos in 1923 to 25,000 kilos in 1932. Also in this field Turkey can now supply her own needs.

Timber.

Turkey is a timber exporter. Her exports increased from 17,892 tons in 1927 to 38,875 tons in 1932, while imports were reduced from 4128 tons in 1923 to 681 tons in 1932.

The above figures only refer to the development of the principal branches of industrial activity. Progress has been made also in other branches. Among others, factories were started for the extraction and purification of olive oil and other vegetable oils, for the manufacture of confectionery, biscuits, metal work and paper.

Sanitary Conditions under the Republican Regime

The Republican Government has not spared any effort to improve the deplorable sanitary conditions under the old regime. The Budget allowance for sanitary services has been raised within ten years from 280,000 T.P. to 3,800,000 T.P.

A College for Medical Science, an Institute for the Training of Midwives, and a School for Sanitary Agents were founded at short intervals. The college is attended at present by 543 students. The number of doctors employed in the sanitary organization of the State has increased from 623 in 1923 to 1304 in 1933, and that of chemists during the same period from 566 to 888.

The Government has also dealt energetically with the

oblem of contagious diseases. A total expenditure of 47,194 T.P. has been devoted to the establishment of spitals and dispensaries, the number of which increased ithin ten years from 712 hospitals with 7127 beds to ,688. Within the same period more than 5,000,000 tients were attended to in sanitary establishments run general and local administrations and the different unicipalities.

cial Relief Work.

The question of social assistance has been given full nsideration. At short intervals have been opened orphanages, a school for deaf and dumb people, establishments for neurological diseases, 4 first-aid ations for accidents, 11 infant asylums and, in 11 calities, maternity homes.

Turkey's adherence to the League of Nations Depart- ent against the traffic in dangerous drugs, the formation f the Opium Monopoly and legal prohibition of the ulture of Indian hemp are all measures, noteworthy and ssential, to improve public health.

Thirty-five new laws concerning sanitary questions ave been approved by the G.N.A., regulating definitely he issues of social assistance.

The Development of Postal Services

Post Offices.

The development of the postal services under the Republican regime is remarkable. For instance, the number of post offices charged with the transmission of postal orders increased from 158 to 493. Correspondence with other countries also experienced a considerable progress.

Air Services.

A regular air mail service has been established with 11 countries in 1931, which was extended to 23 countries in 1933.

Telegraphic Service.

Within the last ten years new telegraphic lines of a total length of 2339 kilometres have been constructed, whilst existing lines have been repaired. On the lines Istamboul–Bucarest 1500 letters are exchanged per minute. The total number of telegrams transmitted in the country advanced from 8,850,000 in 1923 to 14,980,000 in 1932, whilst that of foreign telegrams increased during the same period from 385,000 to 972,000.

Wireless Telegraphy.

Two broadcasting stations were opened in Osmanyié and Ankara, together with two receiving stations at Ankara and Yesilkoy. A coastal station was installed in Istamboul for wireless communication with ships on the sea.

Telephony.

Telephone installations have been set up in 30 Turkish towns, three of which are working on the automatic system. Ankara, Istamboul, Yalova and Adrianople and Alpullu are in direct communication with the European central stations.

Public Finances in Turkey

Under the old regime expenditure always exceeded

stimated revenues by 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 T.P., the xternal debt increased constantly, and all Government ayments were made with considerable delay.

reasury.

Ten years later the finances of the Turkish Republic re characterized by balanced budgets and avoidance of oreign loans. Important innovations have taken place i the administrative and fiscal system. Government bligations are met with strict punctuality. The operaons of the Treasury were vested firstly in the Agriultural Bank, and later in the Central Bank of the urkish Republic. The accounts of the Treasury are entralized by the provisions of the Law on Public ccountancy. Turkey was the first country to introduce a "exchange control" for the purpose of eliminating peculation and regulating the monetary policy.

ebts.

A sinking fund has been established for the liquidation f the internal debt. The Republican Government has so taken over the service of the Ottoman Debt and ettled outstanding coupons. The liquidation of the loating Debt, partially inherited from the old regime nd partially contracted by the new Government, was egun in 1929, and the amounts paid out up to now are eaching 50,000,000 T.P.

axes.

Under the Republican regime the fiscal system has een entirely modified, and the fiscal laws have been ubjected to important amendments and improvements. fforts have been made to render the fiscal charges com-

patible with the economic conditions of the country and the financial capacity of the taxpayers.

The principal taxes existing in Turkey to-day are the following:

(1) *Land Tax*, applied with special consideration of the development of agriculture, protection of public health and encouragement of new constructions.

(2) *Tax on Livestock*. Certain exemptions have been granted to encourage livestock raising.

(3) *Tax on Profits*, instituted by the law of 1926 and now being revised.

(4) *Tax on Operations*, raised on all commercial and industrial operations, has a very low rate.

(5) *Inheritance Tax*, imposed on fortunes acquired without personal effort, does not affect the ordinary taxpayer, whilst it supplies the State with an essential revenue.

Monetary Policy.

The law relating to stock exchanges and securities and the law for the safeguard of the Turkish currency have prevented undue speculation and brought about a *de facto* stabilization of the Turkish pound, based first on sterling, and after the depreciation of the English currency on the French franc.

The Central Bank of the Turkish Republic, founded in 1931, assumed important functions such as the regulation of the discount rate in accordance with the requirements of the market, the provision of cover for bank-notes in circulation, the regulation of change operations. The Central Bank, which began to work with gold reserves amounting to 500,000 T.P., has

succeeded in increasing this amount by four times within less than two years.

For the purpose of facilitating currency circulation the Government has recently decided upon the coinage of silver.

Credit Establishments.

The number of credit establishments working exclusively with Turkish capital increased from 10 in 1920, with a total capital of 17,793,957, to 44, with a capital of 76,195,850 T.P., in 1932.

The total of savings deposits increased from 10,000,000 T.P. in 1920 to 30,000,000 in 1931. During the same period the number of deposit holders increased from 1838 to 106,223. Long-term deposits went up from 9,000,000 to 21,000,000 T.P.

Banking.

The economic and financial development during the past ten years is reflected in the activities of the principal credit establishments :

The Central Bank of the Turkish Republic, whose functions have been summed up earlier in this survey, was founded on October 3rd, 1931, with a capital of 15,000,000 T.P. To-day 70 per cent. of this capital has been paid out. The number of shareholders amounts to 25,056.

During the year 1931–32 the bank realized a profit of 1,471,822 T.P. and 37 piastres. The balance-sheet at the end of 1932 showed a total of 355,523,339 T.P. 88, whilst the short-term and long-term deposits were 13,342,722 T.P. 73 piastres.

In addition to its headquarters in Ankara, the bank

possesses agencies in Istamboul, Izmir, Mersin and Samsoon.

Sumer Bank was instituted under the Law No. 2262 on June 3rd, 1933, with a capital of 20,000,000 T.P. The bank has no shareholders, and thus does not distribute any dividends. Its principal purpose is the financing of commercial and industrial enterprises. The Sumer Bank replaces the Bank for Industry and Mining founded in 1925. The profits realized by the latter increased from 242,998 T.P. in 1925 to 1,559,151 T.P. in 1932, whilst deposits increased from 163,207 T.P. to 1,765,131 T.P.

The bank possesses two agencies, one in Ankara and one in Istamboul, and controls the textile mills of Héréké, Feshané and Bakirkeuy, the leather and shoes factories at Beykoz, the sugar factory in Ouchac, and the rice mill in Tossia. In addition it has considerable interests in other enterprises, chiefly in the spinning mills of Kayseri, Bunyan and Isparta, the rice mill of Marache, the Industrial and Commercial Society of Yalova, the electricity companies of Trabizond, Malatia, Aksaray, and the china works of Kutahya.

Commercial Bank of Turkey, the so-called "Is Bank," is a private enterprise, established on August 26th, 1924, with a nominal capital of 1,000,000 T.P., a fourth of which was actually paid out. At present it disposes of a capital of 5,000,000 T.P., paid out entirely, sub-divided into 500,000 shares of 10 T.P. each. Dividends distributed by this bank since its foundation until 1932 have been :

1925 ...	15%	1927 ...	15%	1929 ...	12%	1931 ...	10%
1926 ...	15%	1928 ...	15%	1930 ...	10%	1932 ...	8%

Short-term and long-term deposits increased during

the same period from 2,456,692 T.P. to 36,466,944 T.P., whilst savings deposits increased from 12,554 T.P. to 7,452,719 T.P.

The Is Bank possesses 42 agencies and branch establishments in the country, one agency in Hamburg, and another agency in Alexandria. It has important interests in national and foreign enterprises.

Banque Immobilière et des Orphelins (Emlak ve Eytam Bankasi). Was founded in 1927. Its capital consisted of real estate representing an estimated value of 5,641,618 T.P. which the Ministry of Finances had transferred to it. This real estate has been realized by the bank, and its present capital amounts to 4,319,964 T.P. Dividends distributed were 10 per cent. in 1928–29, and 9 per cent. in 1932. The number of shareholders is 161. The bank has three agencies and 14 correspondents. Its main purpose is the prevention of speculations on estates by reducing the exaggerated interest rate charged before its formation. The value of deposits and savings accounts increased from 2,913,203 T.P. in 1928 to 4,046,651 T.P. in 1932.

The Agricultural Bank (Turkiye Ziraat Bankasi). The origin of this bank dates from 1864. Its capital increased from 325,781 T.P. in 1888 to 27,299,300 T.P. in 1932. By a law issued in 1924 the Agricultural Bank was converted into a Société Anonyme. Profits realized by the bank during the forty-three years from 1889 to 1931 reached the total figure of 12,263,461, of which 8,629,925 T.P. were realized from 1924–31.

The bank possesses 54 branches in Turkey and 206 agencies; abroad it has 36 correspondents. It has considerable interests in industrial and commercial enterprises. The following figures show the amount of loans

and advances made by the Agricultural Bank in 1923 and 1932 :

Year	Agricultural Loans	Advances on Securities	Commercial Credits
1923 . .	4,723,718	83,886	—
1932 . .	14,745,651	6,751,842	43,240,905

The Savings Bank (Emniyet Sandigi). This establishment, which has existed for sixty-five years, is attached to the Agricultural Bank, but works in a different direction. Its capital increased from 419,234 T.P. in 1923 to 1,746,800 T.P. in 1932. The value of savings accounts increased from 2,327,013 T.P. to 20,892,093 T.P., whilst the amount of loans and advances increased from 2,300,710 T.P. to 8,849,200 T.P.

In addition there are 38 other credit establishments in Turkey, each with a capital under 1,500,000 T.P. The total capital held by these banks is 9,229,000 T.P.

To conclude this brief survey, it must be added that the staff of all the banks described above consists entirely of Turkish subjects.

Customs and Monopolies in the Turkish Republic

Customs.

As stated before, the new Customs Tariff is intended to protect home production, facilitate national recovery and encourage the development of home industries.

A Ministry of Customs and Monopolies has been created and given the task of supervising and controlling the various Customs authorities and monopolies, as well as the special services for the prevention of smuggling.

Monopolies.

The " Régie Co-intéressée des Tabacs de l'Empire

Ottomane" was replaced by the *Turkish State Monopoly for Tobaccos*. Whilst the former organization succeeded in selling only 2,980,000 kg. of tobacco, of a value of 10,480,000 T.P., during the whole of its existence, the present tobacco monopoly sold in 1932 alone 10,607,141 kg., the proceeds amounting to 35,076,809 T.P.

The amount of tobacco manipulated annually by the old regime was 3,000,000 kg., whilst that of the present monopoly is 12,000,000.

The principal features of the activities of the Government with regard to the development of the tobacco industry include the following:

(*a*) Restoration of the factories in Samsoon, Adana and Izmir and opening of workshops in Bitlis and Urfa, which together employ at present about 9000 workers, half of whom are women.

(*b*) Control of prices. Prices obtained by producers have risen by 78 per cent. since the formation of the Republic.

(*c*) Financial aid to growers.

(*d*) Scientific investigations and experiments to improve the quality of the various tobaccos and prevent and cure diseases.

(*e*) Introduction of the handling methods for the manufacture of pipe and snuff tobacco.

(*f*) Improvement of the living conditions of the workers.

The Monopoly for Alcohol and Spirits.

This monopoly was established on February 25th, 1926, for the purpose of developing and exploiting this important industry. Within six years 41,000,000 kg. of raisins and 23,000,000 kg. of figs have been used by

the monopoly for the preparation of the famous "souma." During the same period the monopoly sold 25,000,000 litres of souma, raki, wines, liquors and cognac, the litre being calculated at 100°.

Thanks to the activities of the newly built State-controlled factories in Pachabagtche, Médjidié-Keuy, Tékirdag, Diaoekir, Gaziantep and Mersin, Turkey need no longer import any foreign alcohol and spirits, with the exception of whisky.

Salt Monopoly.

The Salt Monopoly has been created in recent years to further the production and sale of salt, to proceed against smuggling, and to develop exports of salted fish, cheese and olives by means of export premiums.

The Monopoly for Powder and Explosives.

The Monopoly for Powder and Explosives was started in 1929, and is controlling at present several factories for explosives and hunting guns.

National Associations in Turkey

The leaders of the Turkish Republic, anxious to carry out any and all reforms serving the general interests of the country, have given their particular attention to the foundation of new intellectual, social and charitable institutions and organizations whose activities support the work of official authorities, and have already greatly contributed to strengthen the feeling of social solidarity among all classes of the nation.

Among the most important of such associations are:

(1) The Federation of Sport Associations in Turkey, created immediately after the victory of Sacarya,

has gradually spread all over the country, and contributes to an important extent to the physical education of the Turkish youth, male and female.

(2) Association for the Protection of Infants.
(3) Red Crescent.
(4) National Association for Public Education.
(5) National Association for Economy and Saving.
(6) National Aeronautical League.

Another important innovation under the Republican Government is the establishment of National Clubs (*maisons du peuple*), which are to be found all over the country, designed and equipped to form important centres for the intellectual and physical education of the youth and the adult population. These clubs are run by the party of the Ghazi.

Two further great national organizations are the Society for Studies of the Turkish Language and the Society for Turkish History, whose scientific and technical research work is of great value, both from the national as from the international point of view.

Mining in Turkey

Whilst the activities of the Government in the Ottoman Empire with regard to mining issues consisted in the distribution of exploitation concessions and the calculating of taxes, the Republican regime is taking an active interest in the development of mining enterprises, promulgating protective laws and collecting and distributing technical and scientific information on the subject.

Thanks to the efforts of the Government, the mining industry in Turkey has made considerable progress in the

last ten years. A brief survey on the different ores will reveal the practical results of this development.

Coal.

The importance which the Government attaches to the coal-fields of Zongouldak is proved by the fact that coal production has increased threefold within ten years, *i.e.*, from 597,499 tons to 1,593,519 tons. Governmental efforts to increase production are accompanied by legal measures to stimulate consumption and exports. Interesting studies have been published on the coal wealth of Turkey and the particularities of Turkish coal.

Chromium.

Aware of the importance of Turkey's chromium mines, the Government is giving particular attention to the development of production and supporting the recently formed companies with national capital.

Boracite.

The production of boracite is protected against foreign competition and predicts a considerable development.

Emery.

Turkish emery mines, well known in the whole world and forming an important part of the Turkish mineral wealth, have been able to increase production on a large scale owing to Government support.

Lead.

The export of lead, the principal export ore, has increased considerably. In order to counteract the recent slump in prices the Government has granted

important premiums to the society exploiting the mines of Balya-Karaaydin.

Copper.

To exploit the important copper mine in Ergani the Government has successfully raised an international loan for the construction of a railway line leading to that field.

Lignite.

The lignite mines, existing in several parts of the country, will play an important part in the development of the mining industry in Turkey.

The activities in the field of Turkish mining include the creation of special bodies for the exploitation and prospection of gold-fields and petrol sources.

The Turkish Government, in order to ascertain the exact value of the mineral wealth, has engaged Turkish and foreign specialists for research work and analysis of the soil and the ores.

National Defence

The Army.

The Turkish Army, the greatest pride of the nation, which has secured the independence of the country under tremendous difficulties and privations, is to-day well organized and disposes of the most modern and efficient arms and ammunition. It is always ready to defend vigorously and bravely the Turkish Fatherland against any attacks from the outer world and to suppress any internal risings against the Republican system.

The Navy.

The Turkish Navy has been strengthened by the

building, in European shipyards, of a number of destroyers and submarines.

The Air Force.

The development of the Air Force is receiving the close attention of the Government, and good progress has been made in this field. Several factories for aeroplane implements and workshops for repairs have been opened, and quite recently the factory of Kayseri has supplied the Army with two aeroplanes built on its own premises.

Military Service.

The duration of the military service for foot soldiers is eighteen months; for soldiers handling other arms, two years; and for sailors three years.

The military service in Turkey does not only provide a comprehensive military training, but endeavours also to complete the civic education of youth in every direction.

Excellent military publications have been issued at regular intervals, keeping pace with the rapid progress of science in the military field.

The External Policy of the Turkish Republic

The external policy of the Turkish Republic is governed by a series of treaties concluded with a great number of States. The Lausanne Treaty, having settled the situation inherited from the Ottoman Empire, has rendered it easier for the Turkish Government to pursue a policy with the motto "Peace at home, Peace abroad."

Turkey, faithful to her pledges and friendships, is very sensitive in demanding of others the same frankness, and has always taken into consideration their wishes and

nations. She competes with her friends in amity, she supports their initiatives or takes their initiatives herself, according to circumstances. That is a particularity of the Turkish policy which is revealed in her dealings with her neighbours as well as all other friendly States. Another peculiarity of the Turkish policy has been to wind up all the problems bequeathed by the past. It is these characteristics of the Turkish policy, coupled with its constancy, that have earned for her a general confidence. The importance of the geographical position of Turkey, as well as her friendship and history, would not allow her to isolate herself from the world problems, and naturally prompted her to take part in all international conferences and ultimately join the League of Nations. The treaties of conciliation and arbitration she has concluded with France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece and Persia, as well as the treaties containing neutrality clauses she has signed with France, Soviet Russia, Bulgaria and Greece, are specially noteworthy in this connection. Mention should also be made of the Naval Armaments Protocol with the Soviets and Greece, and of the Turco-Sovietic Protocol, making the conclusion by the one party of political acts with neighbouring States dependent on a previous notice to be given to the other party. Finally, the two pacts on the definition of Aggression signed in London during the Economic World Conference, and the Pact of Entente Cordiale recently signed with Greece, with a view to guaranteeing the common frontier and enabling each country to represent the other in international conferences with limited representation, are important factors of peace.

Following on the expiry of the Trade Convention annexed to the Lausanne Treaty, Turkey has concluded no less than twenty-seven trade agreements based on the Most Favoured Nation clause. The general crisis and the penury in foreign exchanges has forced Turkey to take new steps, such as the adoption of the quota system, which aims at protecting the national currency and the home industries.

In this connection attention should also be drawn to the clearing and compensation agreements reached with Austria, Brazil, Hungary and France.

Ankara

The Republican Government chose for its permanent headquarters Ankara, an abandoned village of medieval appearance without flowers, trees and water, situated in the heart of Anatoly, and surrounded by naked hills, deserted fields and marshes.

However, as soon as it became the capital of the country the Government and the population proceeded to render the place worthy of its new rank, and within ten years of intense activities the neglected village has been transformed into a beautiful city with magnificent buildings, large avenues and pretty parks and gardens, disposing of all amenities modern civilization can provide.

One of the most remarkable achievements is the model farm of the Ghazi, created on the formerly naked hills of the surroundings. It is a masterpiece of human energy and endurance with its marvellous gardens, pine woods, swimming pools and sports grounds, where the population can enjoy their leisure hours after the day's work.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND THE TURKISH REVOLUTION

May 19, 1919	Ghazi Mustafa Kamal in Samsoon.
July 23, 1919	Opening of the Congress of Erzeroum.
Sept. 4, 1919	Opening of the Congress of Sivas.
Sept. 7, 1919	Foundation of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Anatolia and Rumélia.
Dec. 27, 1919	Ghazi Mustafa Kamal in Ankara.
Jan. 10, 1920	Issue of the journal *Hakimiyéti-Milliyé*.
Mar. 16, 1920	Military occupation of Istamboul by the Allies.
Mar. 20, 1920	Exploitation of the Anatolia Railway by the State. (This line had been purchased by the State on January 1st, 1928.)
April 23, 1920	Inauguration of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara.
April 24, 1920	Election of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal to the Presidency of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.
April 29, 1920	Elaboration of the Law on High Treason.
May 2, 1920	The First Cabinet Council holds its first meeting.
Jan. 9, 1921	First Battle of Inenu.
Jan. 20, 1921	Adoption of the Organic Statute.
Feb. 8, 1921	The name of the town "Ayntap" is changed into "Gazi Ayntap."
Mar. 16, 1921	Signature of the Treaty of Moscow between Turkey and Russia.

Mar. 30, 1921	Second Battle of Inenu.
June 30, 1921	Foundation of the Association for the Protection of Infants.
Aug. 5, 1921	Election of the Ghazi as Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army.
Sept. 17, 1921	The Grand National Assembly of Turkey confers upon Mustafa Kamal the title of " Ghazi " and the degree of Marshal.
Oct. 13, 1921	Signature of the Treaty of Kars between Turkey and Armenistan, Azerbaidjan and Georgia.
Oct. 20, 1921	Peace is reached in the south of the country.
July 31, 1922	Elaboration of the Law on the Tribunals of Independence.
Aug. 26, 1922	The great attack begins on the front of Afyon.
Aug. 30, 1922	Battle, called " Battle of the Commander-in-Chief," at Doumloupinar.
Sept. 1, 1922	The Ghazi gives his famour order to the Turkish Army: " Armies, your first aim is the Mediterranean ! "
Sept. 9, 1922	The Turkish Army returns to Izmir.
Sept. 9, 1922	The Turkish Army recaptures Izmir.
Oct. 11, 1922	Armistice of Moudania.
Nov. 1, 1922	Abolition of the Monarchy.
July 24, 1923	Signature of the Treaty of Lausanne.
Aug. 9, 1923	Foundation of the Popular Republican Party.
Aug. 11, 1923	Meeting of the Second Grand National Assembly.
Oct. 2, 1923	Liberation of Istamboul.
Oct. 6, 1923	The Turkish Army enters Istamboul.

Oct. 13, 1923	Ankara is proclaimed capital.
Oct. 29, 1923	Proclamation of the Republic and election of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal as President of the Republic.
Oct. 30, 1923	The Council of Executive members of the Government is converted into the Cabinet Council, whose President takes the name of the " First Minister."
Jan. 5, 1924	The law concerning the weekly rest is adopted.
Jan. 14, 1924	Reduction of the duration of military service.
Mar. 1, 1924	The State begins railway construction.
Mar. 2, 1924	The Committee of the Popular Republican Party decides to abolish the Caliphate and the Ministry of the " Chéri " and the Ministry of Pious Foundations.
Mar. 3, 1924	A railway policy is adopted by a law.
Mar. 3, 1924	Abolition of the clerical Moslem schools.
Mar. 3, 1924	The Grand National Assembly approves the law abolishing the Ministry of the " Chéri " and Pious Foundations.
Mar. 3, 1924	The members of the dynasty are expelled from Turkey.
Mar. 18, 1924	The Law on Villages is elaborated.
April 8, 1924	The tribunals of the " Chéri " are abolished.
April 24, 1924	Elaboration of the Organic Statutes of the Republic.
Aug. 26, 1924	Foundation of the Is Bank.
Nov. 10, 1924	The Popular Party takes the name of " the Popular Republican Party."
Feb. 16, 1925	Foundation of the Aeronautical League.

Feb. 27, 1925	Abolition of the "dime."
Mar. 1, 1925	Purchase of the "é Régie Co-intéressee de Tabacs" by the State.
April 19, 1925	Foundation of the Bank for Industry and Mining.
Aug. 24, 1925	Adoption of the hat as headwear.
Nov. 5, 1925	Inauguration of the Faculty of Law in Nakara.
Nov. 25, 1925	Law concerning the wearing of hats is approved.
Nov. 30, 1925	Closing of monasteries and holy graves.
Dec. 26, 1925	Adoption of the International Time and Calendar.
Feb. 17, 1926	Adoption of the Turkish Civil Code.
Mar. 8, 1926	Adoption of the Law on Debts.
Mar. 13, 1926	Adoption of the Turkish Penal Code.
April 17, 1926	Adoption of the Law on Coastal Traffic.
May 22, 1926	Foundation of the Bank for Mortgages and Orphans.
May 28, 1926	Adoption of the Law for Industrial Encouragement.
June 28, 1926	Adoption of the Turkish Commercial Code.
Oct. 3, 1926	Erection of the first statue in Turkey, which represents the Ghazi, in Istamboul.
May 29, 1927	Inauguaration of the railway service Ankara–Kayseri.
Oct. 15, 1927	Meeting of the Second Congress of the Grand National Assembly.
Oct. 15–20, 1927	Before the Second Congress of the Party the Ghazi made his famous historic speech.
Oct. 28, 1927	First census of population in Turkey.

Nov. 1, 1927	Opening of the Second Grand National Assembly.
Nov. 4, 1927	Erection of a statue of the Ghazi before the Museum of Ankara.
Nov. 24, 1927	Inauguration of a monument of the victory in Ankara.
Jan. 1, 1928	Purchase by the State of the Anatolai Railway.
Jan. 31, 1928	Foundation of the Association for Public Education.
April 5, 1928	Adoption by the Committee of the Popular Republican Party of the laical principle, and removal from the Organic Statute of the Republic of all religious provisions.
April 10, 1928	The Grand National Assembly removes from the Organic Statute of the Republic all religious provisions.
May 24, 1928	Adoption of the international figures.
Aug. 9, 1928	The Ghazi makes in Saray-Bournou a speech predicting the revolution which will take place with regard to the types used in writing.
Oct. 3, 1928	Adoption of the Latin types by the Grand National Assembly.
Jan. 1, 1929	Opening of the popular schools for the instruction in the new writing.
Jan. 5, 1929	Purchase by the State of the railway Mersin–Adana.
April 24, 1929	Adoption of the Law on Debt and Bankruptcy.
May 24, 1929	Adoption of the law relating to the salaries of State officials.

the Government in other spheres to improve his position.

Events dragged on into 1924, when, in January, in order to bring matters to a head, the Caliph asked that he might send his Grand Chamberlain to Angora to discuss the situation.

Mustafa Kamal then made it clear that the "dignity of the Caliphate can have no other importance for us than that of an historical memory. The demands of the Caliph that the dignitaries of the Turkish Republic should enter into negotiations with him, constitute a flagrant violation of the independence of the Republic....

"It is being rumoured that the Caliph is selling the treasures in the royal palaces. The Government must immediately take over these treasures and place them under guard, for they belong to the nation. The administrative functions of the Caliph must be subjected to a severe examination. The fact that there is a Grand Chamberlain and First Secretaries and others tends to sustain the dream of power in the mind of the Caliph."

On March 6, 1924, the Assembly considered a number of draft Bills dealing with the Caliphate.

There was another tumultuous debate when Mustafa Kamal intervened.

The Caliph was declared deposed and his dignity abolished.

All members of the deposed Ottoman dynasty were for ever forbidden to reside within the frontiers of Turkey.

Some of the Deputies blandly suggested that Mustafa Kamal should assume the functions of the Caliph.

He replied tersely: "Do not attempt to make me ridiculous by rigging me out in an illusionary rôle."

The last remaining link with the Great Ottoman spirate of centuries was thus destroyed in a single stic sentence.

Since that date Mustafa Kamal has sat enthroned as Leader of the nation, the paramount power over these territories.

The Western world knows little of his activities since en.

It knows that he has established a new capital at gora; that Constantinople is no longer Constantiple, but Stanboul; that he has abolished the fez, hich he said, "sat on our heads as a sign of ignorance, fanaticism, of hatred to progress and civilization"; has introduced sweeping reforms in education, and rticularly in the Turkish alphabet.

What else?

He has prepared a great State to be handed over in ood time to the youth of the nation. And what he has one since his advent is contained in the next chapter, to is abiding glory.

TURKEY UP TO DATE

HAVING described in fuller details the life and work of that amazing man Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha, it is perhaps useful to give in a tabloid form a brief summary of the progress which the Turkish State has made during its ten years' Republican regime—1923 to the present day.

It was on October 29th, 1923, when the Republican regime was proclaimed in Turkey, crowning the long and hard struggle for national independence under the leadership of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal.

The Ghazi.

The Ghazi awakened his country. He saved it from humiliation. After having secured the political independence of the nation, he showed them the way to progress. The Ghazi embodies the very soul of the Turkish people, who are following him in the work of peaceful regeneration.

Position on May 19th, 1919.

The tremendous difficulties which the fearless patriots had to fight down to save their country are best illustrated in the Ghazi's historical speech :

" The group of powers which included the Ottoman Government had been defeated in the Great War. The Ottoman army had been crushed on every front. An armistice had been signed under severe conditions. The

elongation of the Great War had left the people exhausted and impoverished. Those who had driven the people and the country into general conflict had fled and now cared for nothing but their own safety. Vaheddin, the degenerate occupant of the throne and the Caliphate, was seeking for some despicable way to save his person and his throne, the only objects of his anxiety. The Cabinet, of which Damad Ferid Pasha was the head, was weak and lacked dignity and courage. It was subservient to the will of the Sultan alone and agreed to every proposal that could protect its members and their sovereign.

"The army had been deprived of their arms and ammunition, and this state of affairs continued."

Decision to Found a New Turkish State.

What was to be done in these circumstances is examined in another speech of the President in the following terms:

"Three suggestions were advanced to save the situation:

(1) Asking for protection from Great Britain;

(2) Asking for the mandate of the United States of America.

"These two suggestions were advocated by those desiring the conservation of the Ottoman Empire in its integrity, preferring to place it under the protection of one Power rather than to see it divided up between several States.

"The third proposal aimed at the liberation of the country, each region acting according to its own interests and means. For instance, certain regions, opposing the principle of separation, had to consider the means for

conserving their ties with the Empire. Others, considering the break-up of the Empire as an accomplished fact, would try to save their own existence.

"None of these three suggestions struck me as being the right one, because the arguments and reasonings on which they were based were unfounded. In reality, the very foundations of the Empire had broken down. Its existence was coming to an end. Its territory was partitioned. There was nothing left but a 'home' sheltering a handful of Turks. The final aim was to break up this as well.

"Ottoman Empire, independence, Padshah-Caliph, Government—all that was no more than idle words.

"Who would save the country; how and with whose help?

"What serious and real resolution was to be taken?

"Gentlemen, in that situation there was but one resolution to be taken: the creation of a New Turkish State, based on the national sovereignty, enjoying an independence without any limitation.

"Such was the resolution which we took before leaving Istamboul, and which we began to carry out as soon as we set foot on the ground of Anatolia at Samsoun."

What has the Republican Regime achieved in the first Ten Years of its Existence?

Justice.

A fundamental change has been brought about in this field. The old Turkish Civil Law, it was thought, was incomplete in that it did not embrace the whole sphere of civil relations, leaving out, among other matters, Personal Rights and Inheritance. The Commercial and

minal Laws as well as the Codes of Procedure were changed, and the following legislation was adopted:

(a) A Civil Code, based chiefly on the Swiss Code;

(b) A Code of Obligations, based also on the Swiss Code;

(c) A Commercial Code, based chiefly on the German and Italian Codes;

(d) A Maritime Code, based chiefly on the German Code;

(e) A Penal Code, based chiefly on the Italian Code;

(f) A Code of Criminal Instruction, based chiefly on the German Code;

(g) A Code of Civil Procedure, based on the Neufchatel Code.

A series of other laws has also been promulgated, so that at present the judicial legislation of Turkey does not differ from that in Occidental Europe.

Tribunals.

To-day Turkey possesses in 492 localities judicial organizations, which are divided up as follows:

84 Assize Courts (a president and two assistant judges).

436 basic Law Courts, of which 413 have a single judge, whilst 23 are sitting with several judges.

141 "Juges de paix."

16 Special Tribunals.

Civil and criminal cases judged by these judicial authorities amount annually to about one million.

Above these courts and tribunals, the Court of Cassation secures the unity of jurisprudence and the integral application of the laws all over the country. The Court of Cassation was at first composed of four divisions, but

has followed the progressive evolution of the country and comprises at present ten divisions.

The Faculty of Law.

In addition to the Faculty of Law in Istamboul, a similar one was opened on November 5th, 1925, at Ankara, which has up to now conferred 597 degrees; 280 of these graduates have become magistrates.

Women Judges.

At present thirteen women judges and ten women lawyers are exercising their profession with success; 314 girl students are preparing for the same career.

Education.

The activities of the Ministry for Public Education may be summed up under two principal headings :

(*a*) Schools.

(*b*) Public Education by means other than Schools.

Schools.

The schools existing in Turkey belong to the following categories :

(1) Kindergarten.
(2) Primary Schools.
(3) Secondary Schools.
(4) Lycées.
(5) Normal Schools for music, painting, manual professions and physical culture.
(6) Professional Schools.
(7) High Schools, the University.

The following statistics show the enormous difference

en the state of the primary schools under the
t regime and the Republican regime :

Year	Number of Pupils Girls	Boys	Total	Number of Schools
1913–14 . .	41,895	181,384	223,279	3,413
ohole Empire . .	62,954	273,107	336,061	4,894
date of the proclama- d the Republic last year	191,814	350,322	542,136	6,713
y Schools.				
1923–24 . .	543	5,362	5,905	—
1931–32 . .	7,511	22,805	30,316	—
1923–24 . .	230	1,011	1,241	—
1931–32 . .	1,720	5,120	6,840	—
ical Schools.				
1923–24 . .	—	—	931	—
1931–32 . .	—	—	4,155	—
l Schools.				
1923–24 . .	—	—	2,528	—
1931–32 . .	—	—	5,293	—
hools and University.				
1923–24 . .	—	—	2,914	—
1931–32 . .	—	—	4,853	—

e total number of pupils in all schools increased
349,580 in 1923 to 593,593 in 1931–32.

ral Education by Means other than Schools.

e activities of the Ministry for Public Education
also been remarkable in this field by creating, re-
nizing and furthering the following institutions :

c Libraries and Reading Halls.

hese are now under the supervision of a special
ary Department, which has thoroughly revised and
sified the numerous public libraries which were
cted, under the ancient regime, by different authorities
private bodies. It is known now that the Turkish
lic libraries are holding two million books. Fol-
ing the adoption of the Latin characters 1720

public reading halls were created, some of which are in small villages.

Museums.

A special administration for museums has been set up in the Ministry for Public Education.

There are at present fifteen museums in Turkey:

(1) The Ethnographical Museum, in Ankara.
(2) The Archæological Museum, in Ankara.
(3) The Archæological Museum, in Istamboul.
(4) The Topkapu Palace, in Istamboul.
(5) The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works, in Ist.
(6) The Museum of Izmit.
(7) The Museum of Konya.
(8) The Museum of Adalya.
(9) The Museum of Brousse.
(10) The Museum of Adrianople.
(11) The Museum of Adana.
(12) The Museum of Sivas.
(13) The Museum of Amasiya.
(14) The Museum of Tokat.
(15) The Museum of Kayseri.

Scouts.

The Republican Government are furthering the scientific and methodical development of the activities of the Boy Scouts, recognized as a valuable means to form a strong, energetic and intelligent youth faithful to the principles of the Republican ideal.

Publications.

The efforts made by the Republican Administration

regard to publications are not confined to the
ing and translation of ancient and modern works,
end to lay the foundations of a library of culture and
ledge worthy of a democratic country; to spread
lepublican principles; to increase the professional
ency of scientists, and to raise the intellectual level
e population.
ne total number of editions of school books alone,
ng with 400 different subjects, amounts at present
½ million.
he Republican system of public education does not
gnize any class distinctions and privileges, and makes
lifference between rich and poor. In all the schools
s are reserved for children of destitute families. Boys
girls are educated side by side. The primary and
ndary schools are gratuitous.

Activities of the Ministry of Agriculture

her Education.

n Agricultural Institute has been established in
kara, having four faculties: Natural Sciences, Agri-
ural Science, Veterinary Science and Agricultural
ustry. In addition, agricultural schools were opened
Istamboul, Brousse, Adana and Izmir. The attached
f includes specialists having made their studies in
rope and America.

gricultural Courses.

Agricultural courses are held regularly in the different
gions of the country, to give teachers and inspectors
the village schools an opportunity to profit by the
sults of agricultural researches.

A Special Service for Publications.

A special service for publications has been set up in the Department of Agriculture to prepare and distribute agricultural reviews and documents to farms and schools.

The Government have sent representatives to every Agricultural Congress, national or foreign, and availed themselves of the resolutions adopted.

Other features of the activities of the Agricultural Department include the creation and supervision of special institutions all over the country for :

(*a*) Bacteriological research work for the improvement of the soil by destruction of insects and other harmful animals, and by methodical fertilization.

(*b*) Improvement and standardization of agricultural products, such as wheat, barley, tobacco, cotton, fruit, etc., by scientific methods of production and handling ; prevention and cure of diseases, expert advice on specific questions, exhibitions, lectures, educational films, publications.

(*c*) Furtherance of cattle raising by improving sanitary conditions, veterinary supervision, by increasing the area of good grass-land and importing specimens of foreign breeds.

(*d*) Rational exploration of forests and planting of woods for timber and fuel.

(*e*) Development of the sericulture.

(*f*) Mechanization and modernization of agricultural labour methods, and organization of markets and exports.

As an example it may be mentioned that the Government have acquired and distributed to peasants 7677 ploughs, representing a value of 200,162 Turkish pounds. They also sold to peasants at very advantageous con-

ons 221 tractors. In addition, 912 sifters have been ght by the Government for the free cleaning of the sants' grain.

four silos have recently been constructed in Ankara, isehir, Sivas and Konya. In different regions six pots, for 1000 tons each, have been established to store ficient stocks for emergency times.

In 1925 a Meteorological Institute was created in nkara, with 105 stations. Meteorological forecasts e published daily in the different agricultural regions.

Public Works

The negligence and indifference of the old regime ith regard to the elaboration and realization of a comhensive programme of public works for the technical velopment of the country, had convinced the foreigner f the incapacity of the Turks to assume themselves the nstruction and exploration of the great public works, ch as railways, tunnels, bridges, canals, ports, etc.

The Republican Administration has destroyed that roneous conception by realizing great enterprises and taining practical results, of which we give below a brief mmary.

ads.

Aware of the importance and necessity of a regular t of strongly-built roads all over the country, the overnment decided on a project of road construction a very large scale.

In 1923 the roads of the country had a total length of 3,355 kilometres, of which more than 13,000 kilometres ere in a bad condition, necessitating thorough repairs. ten years later the total length of all roads measured 7,850 kilometres. Out of the 13,885 kilometres of bad

roads about 8000 were put into good condition, so that Turkey possesses to-day more than 30,000 kilometres of roads suitable for the circulation of all kinds of vehicles.

Bridges.

The old wooden bridges have been replaced by strong concrete bridges, designed by Turkish engineers and built by native workers with native material.

Canals, Drainage, Irrigation.

The Government have drawn up an essential programme for the protection of areas threatened by floods, the drainage of marshes and utilization of water currents. The principal features of the programme embrace :

(*a*) The construction of a canal on the Ni ufer at Brousse, to put an end to the devastations caused by this river.

(*b*) The irrigation of about 300,000 deunums of land near Brousse, 40,000 deunums in the region of the Grand Meandre, 55,000 deunums of land between Ankara and Sindjan through the building of the dyke of Tchoubouk, and the irrigation of the plain of Nazilli by means of the construction of the canal of Nazilli.

(*c*) The drainage of 25,000 deunums of marshes near Brousse, 25,000 deunums at Yalova, 100,000 deunums round Tarsous, and 40,000 deunums in the neighbourhood of Manissa.

Concessionary Societies.

Whilst the number of the different categories of concessionary societies—*i.e.* gas works, water supply companies, electricity companies, transport companies, har-

services—stood at eleven under the old regime, it ncreased to twenty-nine after the installation of the tegime.

e expenses incurred by these societies for their llation and development amount to 75,395,438 T.P. Government have invested a national capital of ,930 T.P., which illustrates the degree of economic lopment of the country within ten years.

tricity.

Under the old regime only Istamboul possessed an trical installation; since the formation of the National vernment the principal towns of the country have their concessionary societies for the electrification.

ways.

It is especially in the field of railway construction that activities of the constructive policy of the Republican Government have been most apparent, and that the most iking results were achieved.

Owing to the lack of regular railway communications e different regions of the country were practically olated from one another.

Of the total length of State-owned railways, the llowing lines are of especial importance:

Ankara–Kayseri . . .	380 kilometres
Kayseri–Sivas . . .	222 ,,
Samsoon–Sivas . . .	378 ,,
Kutahya–Balikesir . .	252 ,,
Uloukichla–Boghazkeuy .	173 ,,
Irmak–Filyos . . .	297 ,,
Fevzipacha–Diarbekir . .	283 ,,
Total . . .	1985 ,,

The total expenditure on these works is now exceeding 201,000,000 T.P.

Purchase of Railway Lines.

The Government does not limit itself to constructing new railway lines, but has also purchased lines which were constructed and exploited by concessionary societies. These lines are:

Name	Kilometres	Value, T.P.
Railway "Anatolia" . .	1,007 ...	100,700,000
Mersin-Adana . . .	67 ...	4,480,000
Moudania-Brousse . .	42 ...	1,260,000
Konya-Fevzipacha . .	511 ...	51,100,000

These lines, thus acquired by national capital, have a total length of 1664 kilometres, representing a value of 159,000,000 T.P.

Exploitation of Railway Lines.

Two hundred and twenty-five out of the 3350 kilometres of railway lines taken over in 1923 could not be used, and a large number of locomotives and carriages were in too bad a condition to be used. Work was started with six locomotives only. The number of passenger and goods carriages increased to 3036. In order to replace foreign labour by native labour the Government proceeded to form a large number of trained officials and workmen, thus realizing an average economy of 20 per cent. on expense.

State-owned Railways.

The total length of State railway lines amounts to 3568 kilometres in 1933, and will attain 4041 kilometres in 1934.

The existing rolling stock and material are able to meet the requirements of the lines and to secure com-

nications even during the busiest period of the year. severe system of control of the lines and the carriages d engines guarantees the security of the passengers.

Balance of Trade and Payments.

Thanks to the measures taken and the vigilance displayed by the Republican Administration, the balance of trade and payments, which used to show always deficits in the past, are favourable since 1930, as illustrated by the following figures:

Year	Balance of Trade: Export (In million Turkish pounds)	Import	Difference
1926	186·4	234·6	— 48·2
1927	158·4	211·3	— 52·9
1928	173·5	223·5	— 50·0
1929	155·2	256·2	— 101·0
1930	151·4	147·5	+ 3·9
1931	127·2	126·6	+ 0·6
1932	101·3	85·9	+ 15·4

Year	Balance of Payment: Assets (In million Turkish pounds)	Liabilities	Difference
1926	280·3	283·5	— 3·2
1927	261·3	273·5	— 12·2
1928	269·7	285·6	— 15·9
1929	261·7	343·7	— 82·0
1930	227·7	213·7	+ 14·0
1931	189·8	188·3	+ 1·5
1932	138·8	131·8	+ 7·0

The difference in the figures for 1929 is due to heavy imports in anticipation of the new Customs tariff. It should also be noted that the decrease in the balance of trade results from the depreciation of the value of agricultural commodities brought about by the world crisis.

Trade and Commerce in the Turkish Republic

Home Trade.

The home trade, which was at a very low level before

the installation of the Republic, has since been organized in accordance with the economic requirements of the country, and the necessary organizations were set up in Ankara and the different provinces. After 1925, chambers of commerce and industry, as well as stock exchanges and commercial schools, have been opened everywhere.

An Economic Council was established to study, from the scientific point of view, economic questions interesting the country and to report their observations. Several commercial and industrial museums, the law prohibiting falsifications in the trade, the foundation in Istamboul of a laboratory for chemical analysis, the organization of the Opium Monopoly controlled by the State, are as many profitable items for the benefit of producers. The competent Ministries are publishing economic works in order to spread economic knowledge.

The Turkish Republic is a regular member of the commissions of the League of Nations, dealing with economic and financial problems and with the question of communications and traffic in dangerous drugs; of the International Labour Office in Geneva; International Institute of Agriculture in Rome; International Institute of Trade in Brussels; International Institute of Rationalization in Rome; International Customs Union in Brussels, and the International Office for Industrial Property in Berne.

Foreign Trade.

Having acquired by the Treaty of Lausanne her economic and commercial independence, Turkey has concluded trade treaties with foreign countries, based on the equalization of rights, and taken the necessary

ps to protect and develop her foreign trade. Her lance of trade is favourable by 15,317,332 T.P., while showed a deficit of 60,138,550 T.P. in 1923. It is oped that the standardization of Turkish products and e improved conditions of packing and transport will ill increase the appreciable results obtained until ow.

When the world crisis began to show its first repercussions the Turkish Republic did not hesitate to adopt, like other countries, the necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the country. Under the protective Customs Tariff of 1929 home industries have been started to supply the elementary needs of the population. A measure like the quota system constitutes, of course, only an emergency measure.

Turkish capital and labour are becoming more and more predominant and powerful in the foreign trade, and the activities of the special organizations and bodies established at home and abroad have considerably contributed to enlarging trade relations with other countries.

Navigation.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne the Turkish State has organized its maritime trade by means f the law on harbours, creation of the Department of laritime Trade, exploitation of State-owned vessels and he foundation of a service for life-saving, all of which ad previously been in foreign hands.

The Turkish mercantile fleet consisted in the first ear of the Republic of 88 units, representing a total onnage of 34,902 tons, composed of very old vessels. Since 1923 the fleet of the Seyri-Sefain, the present administration of the exploitation of the sea routes, has

been increased by a total tonnage of 110,170. The number of passengers transported during ten years by the official and private mercantile fleet was 5,872,870, the number of animals transported was 5,943,495 and the quantity of goods 2,226,048 tons.

Harbours.

Owing to the activities of port services organized by the Government in the principal ports, the old expensive and irregular charging and discharging practices have been replaced by modern reliable methods, and costs have been considerably reduced.

A High School for Maritime Trade.

A High School for Maritime Trade was opened in Istamboul in 1928, followed by the Institute for Pisciculture in 1931.

Companies.

The number of companies increased in ten years from 106, with a total capital of 61,669,250 T.P. and 14,750,000 French francs, to 196, with a capital of 158,227,000 T.P. The number of limited companies admitted by the new Commercial Code amounts to 113, with a capital of 4,477,000 T.P.

Co-operatives.

Co-operative societies formed in accordance with the Commercial Code increased from 1 in 1923, with 9 partners and a capital of 262,000 T.P., to 37 in 1932, with 15,685 partners and a total capital of 1,310,544 T.P.; whilst the co-operative societies formed under the

tol of the Agricultural Bank number at present ,with 58,578 partners.

oreign companies number 71, with a total capital of 8,293,927 T.P. Turkey possesses at present 46 ance companies and a Society Nationale de surance.

stry under the Republican Regime.

he development of industries dates from the installa- of the Republican regime. In fact, the Republican rernment has, as soon as it came into power, en- voured to create a rational industry for the manu- ure of the principal raw materials produced in the ntry. In order to encourage the development of ustries in Turkey the Government established, in 4, a bank for industry and mining, called "Sumer k," whose activities have greatly contributed to easing the number of factories and the output of ne manufactures able to compete successfully with ilar imported articles.

Among the foremost Governmental measures for the therance and protection of national industries is the nulgation in 1924 of a law putting Ministries and te Departments and dependent institutions under the igation of purchasing solely home manufactures for ir clothing requirements; the modification in 1927 the old Law of Industrial Encouragement, which reases the privileges granted to existing industries l removes restrictions impeding their development; introduction of the new protective Customs Tariff 1929. The number of industrial enterprises benefiting m the provisions of the Law for Industrial Encourage- nt increased from 140 in 1923 to 2317 in 1933.